

THE
WAY
TO
HONOUR.
In three PARTS.

First Part, of Councils and Councillors.

Second Part, Of the well-qualified
Courtier.

Third Part, Of Martial Prowess and
Learning.

Illustrated and adorn'd by many famous Ex-
amples, as well Ancient as Modern.

By B. B. Gent.

L O N D O N,

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CLASS OF 1915

Feb. 8, 1926

To the Illustrious and Magnanimous Prince *Christopher*, Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, Baron *Monk* of *Potberidge*, *Beaucamp*, and *Tey*s; Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter; one of the Gentlemen of His Majesty's Bed-Chamber; one of the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council; and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Devonshire*, and *Essex*.

May it please your Grace,

IF I should present you with what is contain'd in this Concise Treatise, of The Way to Honour, as binding Rules to your Grace, I should be like to that ri-

The Dedication.

diculous Philosopher, who, not knowing any thing of war, more than some few Martial Axiomes, presum'd to read Military Lectures to Hannibal, one of the greatest Captains ever Nature produc'd: Your Noble Soul being endued with such principles of true Honour, that it comprehends all Laws in it self, that direct and manage you. I only assume the boldness, my Lord, to throw these my Labours at your Grace's Feet, humbly begging that they may be shrouded under the wings of your Grace's most noble Patronage; and I hope your truly Heroick Generosity is such, that it will not disdain the meaner, and obscurer, as well as more Glorious and Resplendent Objects: For I am confident I could not chuse a more Glorious Patron of The Way to Honour, than your Grace, the very Mirrour of true Honour, and Epitome of worth. But if my Presumption in this present Dedication be great, yet I hope your Grace's greater goodness may be pleas'd to pardon the same. And though I am not ignorant that your Grace may be averse from all addresses of this

Na-

The Dedication.

Nature ; yet could not such an apprehension beat me from my design , being forc'd to the attempt by the ardent desire I had to show my humble and profound respects to your Grace's grand, as well Hereditary as Personal Merits, which are of such a transcendent Quality, as that all your Noble, and brave Inclinations, and Deportments show you to be the Generous Son of that incomparable Hero, that miracle of Men, that wonder of future Ages, the happy restorer of lawful Monarchy, and Loyalty. But here I must acknowledge my own insufficiency, to give due Praises to such eminent Virtue, which has rais'd it self upon the most solid Foundation of true Honour, that ever by-past Times could produce, Forreign Nations boast of, or Ancient or Modern Story mention, and leave it to a more able Pen, to do your Grace, if possible, and the World that right ; but as it is beyond all former example, so I think it is above all real Character: wishing to see your Grace's Ensigns flourish where the Roman Eagles never flew.

The Dedication.

Generous Prince, the Subject of this ensuing Discourse dis-agrees so much with my present condition, that it may with some shew of Justice give occasion to Criticks to upbraid me with Presumption; but when they know that neither my Condition, or hopes have formerly been so despicable, or desperate, but that I might with some reason have aspired to something else then what I am; and consider, that Fortune takes delight to display upon the Theater of preferment, the most remarkable tricks of her malice; they will be no more censorious, but commend the endeavour, though weak, as aiming at the publick good.

As that Glorious Lamp of the world distributes Light, Heat, Life, and motion to inferiour bodies, without the least diminution of its Splendor, or inherent virtues; so may this our Rising-Sun send down benevolent influences on our rising hopes, before he reach the Meridian of his Glory. Then will we cry out with Themistocles,

The Dedication.

mistocles, we had been undone if we had not been so. . *I for my part will court occasions to merit the least favourable Aspect, and always acknowledge my self to be,*

Brave Prince,

Your Grace's

Most humbly devoted Servant,

B. B.

OF

The Dedication
mistakes, we had been told it was
had not been so. I for my part will
court occasion to write the
all about a new edition of my
COUNCILS
Private Prince
COUNCILS
Your Obedt
Licensed,

September 20.
1677.

Roger L'Estrange.

OF
COUNCILS
AND
COUNCELLORS.

PART. I.

The PROEMIE.



SEEING it is most certain,
that in Private Affairs the wis-
est of Men stand in need of
the Advice of others; how
much more can such want the
Counsel of prudent Men, who
reign over multitudes of Peo-
ple, ^{*} ~~and~~ incumbered with almost infi-
nite troubles: such, I say, whose deast ^{*. 200. 4. an.}
errors are prejudicial to the whole
Kingdome, and sometimes to the whole
World? Therefore as Tyrants hated Faith-
ful Councellors, and did confer great Ho-

Of Councils and Councillors. Part. I.

nour and Riches, (the just rewards of vertue,) on wicked Men, by whose Flagitious Impiety their Empires were often brought to destruction: So on the contrary we read that the best Princes were always accompanied with Honest and Faithful Ministers. *Cajus Caesar* had *Quintus Pedius*; *Augustus*, *Mecenas* and *Agrippa*: *Adrian* had *Celsus*, *Salvius* and *Nerarius*, *Marcus Antoninus*, *Scaevola*, *Mutianus* and *Volsianus*; and *Sextus* had *Pompinianus*. You shall hardly find, says *Vellius*, that eminent Princes did not make use of vertuous Councillors to govern their Fortunes. Great things, says *Cicero*,

Cic. in * are not done through Strength or Cel-
est. majo- lery of the Body, but through Coun-
re. cil and Authority. And I, says *Salust*, have found by much reading and hearing, that all Kingdoms and Common-wealths were prosperous, so long as Good Council had Authority amongst them; but when Favour, Fear and Voluptuousness did corrupt the same, then incontinently their riches were diminished, their command taken from them; and last of all they endured the Yoke of Bondage and Slavery: which was understood, when *Pericles*, to gain the favour of the Com-

mon-people, * did take away the Au-
thority. thority of the *Areopagite*, or *Atheni-*
an Judges, and did give the same to the Vul-
gar. gar. For not long after that Common-wealth
** Dionys.* did begin to fall, being shaken with
Hel. l. 2. Foreign and Civil War. * And Ju-
 dicious

Part II Of Councils and Counsellors

dicious Men do think, that the only cause that
 made Rome flourish so long, was, that they
 did not follow their own, but the Counsel of
 their Senate. *There is no greater Instrument of*
a well govern'd Kingdom, says Tacitus,
** than a Good Counsellor.* And to ^{Lib. 4.} ^{Hist.}
 speak it in a Word, the Mind and
 Understanding are not more necessary in an Hu-
 mane body, than Council is in a Prince. It
 was a saying of one of the Sages of Greece, that
 in the Assembly of wisdom, Princes themselves
 grow wise. The Prince becomes good, says Ca-
 pitebianus, if he make use of good Men for his
 Counsellors. And let it be granted, that the
 Prince's Commands were sometimes hard; yet
 they will seem just for this only cause, that they
 were done with the consent of prudent Men:
 neither can a Prince show a greater evidence of
 a good Nature, (according to *Continu.*) than
 to choose Counsellors famous for their Virtue.
 For every one will presently judge, that the
 Inclinations and Manners of the Prince, are
 corresponding to those of his Favourites.
Princes are known by their Counsellors. Says Oly-
 the Emperor * in *Tacitus.* Moreover, all his
 Subjects will fear to offend, or ob- ^{Lib. 4.} ^{Hist.}
 tradit the Command of such Prin-
 ces, whom they know to do all things with the
 consent of Judicious Men; besides the pleasure
 which Princes enjoy, who oblige good Men by
 their Affection and benevolence, on whose Vir-
 tue and Fidelity they can securely rely.

CHAP. I.

The Definition and Nature of a Council.

A Council, says the Philosopher, is a certain investigation or search of those things, by which we can easily come to the end, which we have propos'd to our selves.

But because in this place we are to speak of the Council of a Prince, we call the same a Lawful Assembly of selected Men, to give Advice to their Prince, in the administration of Affairs, either in Peace or War; by whose help he minds things by-past, beholds those which are present, provides for the future, obtains the happy success of his enterprises, shuns misfortunes, or if that be not possible, finds a way whereby they may become supportable.

This Council may be considered in three respects, the Persons therein, to wit, the Counsellor who giveth Council, and the Prince who asketh the same; next, the things which are handled in the Council, and lastly the end thereof. Three things are to be regarded, says Quintilian, in Persuasions and Councils: what it is, who they are, and to what end.

Part I. Of Councils and Councillors.

CHAP. II.

*The Description, Qualification, and Duty
of a Councillor.*

A Councillor is he, who faithfully and prudently suggesteth to his Prince, what tendeth to the good of the Republick.

From which Description we must observe two things, his Qualifications, and his Office or Duty. That it may be better understood, the Qualifications of a Councillor are partly from Nature, partly from Industry, and partly from Fortune; to be more brief, they are either innate, or acquired; innate as the Genius, comely forme of the Body; and parts acquired by Study or Exercise, Arts, Sciences, &c.

SECT. I.

Of his Genius.

Seeing then that none can excel in any Virtue, unless they have the Foundation of Nature laid, a Councillor must be of a strong and solid Wit. For as great weights, which cannot be elevated by the mere strength of Men, are easily mov'd by Engines; so you shall effect that by your Promptitude of Wit, which you oftentimes cannot do any other manner

Of Councils and Councillors. Part I.

of way. There are some prompt motions of the mind, says Cicero, which are quick to excogitate, and fertile to explain and adorn. It is requisite for a Councillor to have a ready and indefatigable Genius, in the managing of Civil Affairs, and who knows to fit his Counsels according to Circumstances. A man is known to have a good Genius, if he be eloquent, quick of apprehension, prompt in answering, clear in instructing, and cautious in serious matters. *The Wit, says Seneca, is nourished, and grows by Precepts; adds new persuasions to those already imbred, and amends the bad.*

But a Councillor must know how to use this quickness aright, lest he deserve the name of a Sophister. Whereas therefore we say that a good Genius is needful, that must not be understood merely of one that is acute and great, but of one that is prompt and apt, and which has the direct rule of a solid Judgment. For without this, Affairs many times have destructive and fatal events. *Fieri and too subtile Lib. 2; Spirits, says Curtius, * are fitter to innovate than manage Affairs, and often destroy their own Authority, if they have any.* For it's frequently seen by Nature's decree distributing her gifts amongst Mortals, that a man, although of an excellent Genius, is nevertheless not fit for every sort of employment, and cannot happily enough apply himself to the various Inclinations and Humours of Men.

Part I. Of Councils and Councellers.

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Men. *Marcus Cato* was such in War, that Men would have judg'd him to have been born amongst Swords and Pikes; but if he had applyed himself to his studies, you would have thought that he had his Birth and Education amongst Books. *The moderate and solid spirit of Titus, says Tacitus, and the beauty of his countenance, join'd with a certain Majesty in his deportment did augment his Fame and Reputation.*

S E C T II.

Of his Forme.

The comely Forme therefore of the Body, and the Beauty and Gravity of his Countenance, are great Ornaments to a States-man. For although they fade either through sickness, or length of time; yet what is beautiful purchaseth Love, seeing external beauty carries the image of what is Divine: and though sometimes a beautiful Nature lurks under an ignoble form, or a gallant spirit is hid in a deformed Body, yet that is very rare. The beauty and comeliness of *Scipio Africanus* was an admiration to the Ancient *Spaniards*. The due symmetry of parts in the Body is held in veneration, even amongst the *Barbarians*; So that they esteemed none capable of great actions, but such as Nature had beautified with an excellent person.

SECT. III.

Of his Age.

It will not be impertinent that the Age also of a Counsellor be spoken of in this place, as another qualification; and what Age is most fitting for the managing Affairs of State. Youth is obnoxious to divers pleasures and Lusts, to Passion, desire of Command, Ambition and Intemperance. Moreover young mens Understandings and Judgments are not so solid, their experience not so great as those of riper years; their Authority less with the People, and are more easily ensnar'd with the Deceits of their Adversaries: from whence, (and that not undeservedly,) they are called Abortive States-men. *It is forbidden, says Pliny writing to Trajane, that any assume the Name of Magistrate under Ten Years of Age.*

On the contrary, Old-age is for the most part Timorous, Suspicious, Incredulous, and Avaritious. The nearer a Man is to his Grave, he is for the most part the more anxious and fearful, is also more unable to undergo pains and troubles, and more forgetful; by which defects many occasions are oft-times neglected; and his more talkative Nature, if there be any experience therein, is often turned into obstinacy.

Part I. Of Councils and Counsellors.

nacy. For these Reasons *Aristotle* disapproved of young men, because they were unexperienced, and old men because they were unable.

The middle Age therefore is most fit for Counsellors, which is from Thirty to Sixty. I do not deny but that there may be some Men fit for that employ both before and after that Age: But, according to *Furius Coriolanus*; It is better for men under Thirty Years, to go to famous Universities, to travel, to learn the Manners and Customes of Men and Nations; to know the Courts of Princes, and to follow the Camp; and for Men above Sixty, to begin to live to themselves, to make use of what they have purchased by their virtue with ease and quietness, and to have care of the health of their Souls only.

S E C T. IV.

Of the acquired Qualifications of a Counsellor.

Subject I. Of the Knowledge and Fear of God.

Thus much of innate helps, and the Age of a Counsellor. Acquired ones relate to those things which are necessary to the right and happy Government of the Common-wealth. Amongst which the Knowledge and Fear of God has the first place. For seeing Impiety doth eradicate all Fear of offending, and that the Councils

Councils of the Wicked are fraudulent; It follows that the contempt of Religion doth bring the destruction of Publick Affairs. To omit, that it's God only, who gives Understanding, Fortitude, and Riches; who beats back the Violence of Enemies, and who gives Victory and Glory to great Men: How I beseech you, can he give Council in great matters, who has not his mind pure, and shining with Divine Splendour? For who are acceptable to God, are instructed with Divine Councils, and for that cause do seldom erre. That which even the Heathens did see, amongst whom the Opinion of Religion, though superstitious and erroneously false, had great Authority. We are bound in our duty by no greater tye, than that of true Religion. As therefore the Common-good can be no ways separated from Honesty, no more can Honesty be separated from Religion. And to conclude, according to *Valerius Maximus*; They are deceiv'd, says he, who teach that Men are kept in their Duty by Humane Power, and not by the fear of Divine Vengeance. The Councils of Men are punished when they are preferred before those of God.

Subject. 2. *Of Philosophy.*

The second help is Philosophy, of which our Counsellors should not be ignorant, but especially of such as consists in Action, to wit, the
Morals;

Part I. Of Councils and Councillors. 11

Morals; neither would I have him ignorant of Natural Philosophy, which consists more in contemplation. It is unseemly for a Minister of State, conversing often with great and learned Men, not to know the Natural causes of things, how those Bodies do consist which we call Elements, what Power or Force causeth Thunder and Lightning, what distinguisheth the Rainbow with such divers colours, what doth raise Winds, causeth Earthquakes, covers the Channels of the Earth continually with Waters, and the like.

But let him be chiefly instructed in the Mathematicks, the first part whereof is Arithmetick. For how can he without this understand Accounts of what is received and given out, if any time the charge of the Treasury or Exchequer be committed to him.

Geometry and Geography, without which History cannot be well understood, Lands cannot be divided, Camps cannot be pitched, Towns builded, Cities and Castles fortified, are also very needful for our Councillor.

It's absurd in those having the administration of the Common-wealth to be ignorant of those things whereby the same doth subsist. Which *Plato* understood, when he pronounced that famous sentence as from an Oracle, That Common-wealths should be happy, when either Philosophers did reign, or Princes did addict themselves to Philosophy.

There

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*There is not a more commendable part of Philosophy, says Pliny * than to do a public good, to know and do Justice, and to put in Practice what Philosophers teach.*

This part of Philosophy sheweth what is honest, and what is not so, what is the end of good and evil; how a Family should be govern'd; what the Power of the Father is, the Husband, and the Master; with what Virtues and Arts he should be endued who governs; what the best form of Government is; by what means declining and falling Commonwealths are supported, and the best Precepts and Laws whereby they are moderated.

** Apud Ci. Crassus does affirm, * That he cannot be an Orator, who has not learned this part.*

part of Philosophy. For every Orator should be of those things which we ought to do, or which we ought to shun; wherein seeing all our duty doth consist, it follows necessarily, that he who is ignorant thereof, should want matter in his speech. Therefore he deservedly exclaims, O Philosophy! the guide of Life, the searcher of Virtue, the banisher of Vice, &c.

I know that the Opinion of the Vulgar is, that those who in more mature Age are addicted to the study of Philosophy, are Men given to Solitude, and without Experience, and therefore upon no account are fit for Affairs of Government; but they are deceived. For we do not speak here of Philosophy, which consists

sists in the mere Idea's of the Mind, or of those who without Judgment study the same, and are wise except in those things wherein they should be: But of such who joyn Speculation with Practice. *Helvidius Priscus* says, *Tatius* being but very young, did apply his notable *Geminus* to the like Studies: he did not, as many, cloke their idleness with seeming generous preferences, but did follow the Teachers of Wisdom, that he might be the more fortified against the changes of Fortune, and the more able to shew himself in the Common-wealth, Being *Quæstor* he was chosen to be the Son-in-Law of *Pacrus Thrasea*; he was a good Citizen, Senator, Husband, Son-in-Law, Friend, and sufficient in all the Duties of Humane Life; an hater of Riches, a maintainer of Equity, and constant in his Duty without fear. Which are the true Fruits of true Philosophy.

Subject. 3. Of his Knowledge of the Laws.

In the next place I come to speak of the knowledge of the Laws, which flows from this Fountain: for although the secret Councils of Princes should not be too much taken up with deciding of Controversies; yet because the Laws are the firm and sure Foundations of Common-wealths, it were absurd, that a Counsellor or Minister of State should be ignorant of them. Seeing you are most learned in
the

the Laws, says Pliny in a certain Epistle, where of a Senator should not be ignorant, I desire to know from you, whether or not I did lately erre in the Senate; that I may be instructed not for the by-past (for that's too late) but for the future, if the like fall out. It's oft-times needful to establish new Laws, to punish Traitors and Ambitious Conspirators against the Prince and Common-wealth. Moreover when the right of any City, Sea-port, River or the like, are debated, from which great Wars do often proceed, by the Knowledge of the Laws, we are not only able to argue learn'dly concerning the thing controverted, but also to judge whether the War made for such a cause be just, or unjust.

Subject. 4. *Of his Knowledge of History.*

But above all, the Knowledge of History is most necessary in a Councillor. The Philosopher does justly affirm, that things done are most profitable to consultation. For future things fall often out like to those which are by-past. Of which History furnisheth us with such abundance, that it is almost absolutely necessary to the right Government of our Life, and to the good Administration of the Republick. But many Readers and Authors themselves go no farther than the bare Knowledge of the thing it self. *Thucydides*, who may be justly called the Prince of Historians amongst the Grecians,

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Grecians, doth notwithstanding so superficially run over that most famous War twixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, which was almost the destruction of both Conquerors and Conquered, that he gives no other satisfaction to the Readers, but the simple relation of the thing it self. But let Rulers of Commonwealths learn by the example of the *Athenians*, to be quiet, so long as they can with Honour and Security; seeing Arms should be taken up to defend, not to disturb the publick Peace and Tranquillity. Let them not suffer themselves to be carried away with the desire of enlarging their Command, to the destruction of their Native Country. Let them not make strange Wars their own with a note of Infamy, and by seeming to assist their Friends, make a way for their own ruine. If there doth any controversie arise amongst their friends, let them endeavour to reconcile such rather by their Authority and Council, than by aiding the one party, which often proves Destructive to all.

But let us come to the Writings of other Authors, who would demonstrate that Princes ought to be moderate, and to use that Power over their Subjects which is limited by the Laws. For by the Subjects alienated affections no Power can long endure. So the Command of one has been given to many, that the same might be the cause of the people's safety

safety of Glory, and not their Disgrace and
 Destruction: Such and the like, one may ea-
 sily gather out of the History of *Lucius*
Brutus. * He who will have the Ex-
 ample of an Excellent Prince, and
 of all the Vertues which adorn him,
 let him read the story of *Hieron* King of
Syracuse. * On the contrary, who
 desires to know the example of Ty-
 rants falling head-long, despising all
 Men, and every thing, having his Ears open
 to the flatteries of Courtiers, and shut to safe
 Councils, and the complaints of the miserable;
 Let him behold the Sons-in-Law of this good
 Prince. If any desire to know how much hurt
 a Woman can do, let him consider what *De-*
marata did with her Husband *Andronedor*.
 If there be great want in *Treasures*, and that
 there can be no better way to help the same;
 Let him consult *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Valeri-*
us Levinus, who advised the Senate and Peo-
 ple of *Rome* to a contribution; but so as to
 begin with the Temples of their greatest Gods;
 which had such success, that the Nobility
 bringing to the Treasury, whatever Gold or
 Silver they had coyn'd, and uncoyn'd, with
 such zeal to exceed each others Liberality, the
Triumvirs were not able to receive,
 nor the Clerks to write their Names.
 In reading therefore of History, let a Coun-
 cellor not only observe the Narration of things
 done,

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done, and their several Circumstances; but also the Councils, Acts, and Events, wherefore that was done, and this omitted; wherefore some events were fortunate, others unfortunate: If any glorious act fall out, whether it was done through Chance and Fortune: or through Virtue and good Council: If any thing fall unhappily out, what could have prevented it; whether the fault was in the Captain, in the bad conduct of his Army, in the ordering of it, in his encamping, whereby he might have had an easie retreat, if routed, and if victorious, what was the cause of it, &c. Let every one endeavour to know, says *Livius*, * what were the Lives and Manners of those Men, and the * *In praesentia* Means in Peace and in War, where-
by they augmented their Dominions: but you may easily know by contraries: for a little after he says, *Then Discipline and Order decaying, and Ambition and Dissension creeping in, they began to run head-long, until they came to our times, wherein we can neither suffer our own Vices nor their Remedies.*

Subsect. 5. *Of Travel.*

It is also requisite for our Councillor; to see divers Provinces, and famous Cities, to learn the Manners and Customes of many Nations; to know exactly their Harbours, Ports, Seas, and Rivers, to come to the Knowledge and

18. *Of Councils and Councillors. Part I.*

Conversation of great Men, to frequent the Courts of Princes, to know, whether those Provinces which he has seen are well fortified; what Wars they have had in former times, and upon what occasion. Let him also learn the Power of Neighbour Princes, that he may know whom to fear, and whom to trust, with whom to enter into confederacy, and that so exactly, that none can deceive him with any false relation.

Who doubts but that one so travel'd, conversing so long in the Courts of Princes, and frequenting the company of the Nobility eminent for their Virtue, is a more able Councillor, than one, who sitting at home, knows nothing what is done in forreign Nations. *Livius* * observes that a certain Favourite and intimate Councillor of King *Antiochus* being ignorant of Forraign Affairs, was the cause of his ruine by perswading him to make War with the *Romans*.

Subiect. 6. *Of his Eloquence.*

Seeing God has given to Man two most peculiar Properties in the one of which is the force of Understanding, and Judgment, which we call Reason, in the other the faculty of Speaking, it is not enough to understand aright and judge prudently, unless you can express the same handsomely.

Therefore

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Therefore it's necessary that a Councillor be eloquent, and that he express himself readily upon every subject and occasion: For, it may sometimes happen, that he may be sent to other Princes, or States to perswade or dissuade, to praise or accuse, to congratulate or threaten, or to speak to the vulgar to bring them from their fury to reason, and then a Councillor's Speech ought to be adorn'd with wise and grave sentences; yet so as not to savour of too much affectation, but be accommodated to the ears of the hearers, and that his arguments and reasons be not far-fetched. *It's a good reward of great pains, says Quintilian 11. 10. c. 7. *to have the faculty of speaking readily and wittily.* What is more effectual to allure the will, and move the mind, than Eloquence: But in such cases I do not commend a tedious and incoherent speech, but such as is succinct and material. The short Oration of *Publius Valerius* did bring the armed Roman Multitude to their wonted Obedience. * *Valer. Max. l. 4.*

Three things are enjoyn'd a Senatour, says Cicero, that he be present, for when the Senate is full it has the more Authority. * *delegibus. 17:* that he speak in due time, and that he speak in few words, lest he be burthensome.

I find that there are three several ways in giving of Council, to wit, with Reason, Authority, and Example: which if joyn'd together must of necessity have great force.

20 *Of Councils and Councillors. Part 1.*

Therefore if a Councillor do not approve of the matter propos'd, or of the Opinions of others who have given theirs before him, let him take heed that what he speaks against the same may be able to prove it by valid and firm reasons. And because there are few who take it kindly that their Opinion should be refuted, he must use all honour and respect in his words, and shun such as are contentious. Neither let him give his Judgment as infallible, *Matters in consultation, (says the Philosopher) are contingent, and may fall out other ways: Therefore it's enough for him to satisfie his Conscience.* Pericles before he spoke any thing in publick did always wish, *that no word might escape him which was impertinent.*

Subject. 7. Of his Skill in Language.

I add the knowledge of Languages, where-with Councillors should be adorn'd, especially of such Countries, where his Prince either governs, or which he useth either as his Friends or Enemies. This knowledge is of great use for the better managing of Forraign Affairs. The speech of one who useth an Interpreter can neither be so acceptable, nor so effectual: for thereby you cannot move the affections of Men, there being a certain Emphasis of Speech and Grace in Action, peculiar to the Expressions and Practice of each Nation, which not rightly distinguished, may make to great and irreconcilable a breach;

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as may possibly frustrate the intention of the consultation. *Themistocles* * the *Plutar.* most active Man of his time in Greece, and the most prudent in giving and taking Council, when he fled from *Athens* to the King of *Persia*, would not declare his mind, before he had learned the *Persian* tongue, that thereby he might be enabled to speak to the King without an Interpreter, which he judg'd to be of no small moment.

Subsect. 2. Of his Martial knowledge.

And because according to *Cicero*, all things are shrouded under the wings of Warlike virtue; Let a Councillor learn the Art of War, and understand the Order of Horse and Foot, and the drawing up of an Army: Let him know the distances of Mountains and Valleys, and the situation of Cities, &c. What is more frequent in the Secret-council of Princes, than consultations of War, of Armies, of Camps, Provisions, Stratagems, of fortifying Towns, of repelling the sudden incursions of Neighbouring Enemies, and depopulations of Provinces. There were none admitted of old into the *Romane Senate*, whose Vertue was not famous in Peace and War. *Livius* speaks after this manner * of *M. P. Cato*. The knowledge of the Laws, says he, has advanced one, eloquence another, and military ver-

lib. 3. 9.

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use the third. But this Man's Genius was fit for every employment, that men would have thought he had been born for that particular affair he went about. Valiant of his hands, and famous in many signal fights, having thereby obtain'd great Honour, he was a brave General, great States-man, and good Orator.

CHAP. III.

Of his Office or Duty.

WE have spoken already of the Qualifications of a Councillor, innate and acquired, now let us come to the Duty of a Councillor; which doth chiefly consist in this, to love his Prince and Country with sincere affection. It's nothing to know aright what is to be done, or to be eloquent therein, if the hatred of the Republick, or any wicked design obstruct the candid expression of his good Council. It was a Custom of old *Plutarch*, amongst the *Athenians*, that when the people in their Assemblies did consult concerning the Common-wealth, the Herald with a loud voice did curse him and his posterity, who did give any bad or pernicious Counsel, to the hurt or damage of his Country. It was the saying of a wise man,

That

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That there was nothing more dangerous than a quick and subtil spirit, without fidelity and love to his Prince and Country. We should, says *Aristides* to **Themistocles*, not contend with private hatred, but whether of **Herodotus* us can be more beneficial to our Country. Admirable was the constancy of affection which *Fabius Maximus* did shew to his. Being cheated by the publick of the money which he told down to *Hannibal*, **says Valerius Maximus*, for the *Li. 3. c. 8.* Redeeming of Captives, he did notwithstanding hold his peace. The Senate did make, contrary to the Laws, *Quintus Minutius*, Master of the Horse, equal to the Dictator, yet he was still silent. Being moreover often injur'd, he remained still the same man, and did not suffer himself to be angry at the Republick.

A Counsellour should therefore lay aside hatred against his Adversaries, favour towards his Friends, arrogancy in himself, and all private interests, if prejudicial to the publick good. All men, says *Salust*, who consult of dubious matters, ought to be free from hatred, friendship, anger, and pity; for no man can both serve his own desires and the publick good: And in another place, Let the mind, says he, in consultations be free, obnoxious to neither crimes nor lusts. Why so? Because it cannot be that one given to vice should not favour the same.

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Let the life therefore of a Councillor be good and just, which may serve as a rule to other Ministers, and as an Example to his Prince. When at *Sparta* a certain vicious Fellow had given a good counsel, the people rejected it. But the *Ephori* did command a grave old man to give the same, as pouring it out of a dirty Vessel into a clean one, that it might be acceptable to the multitude. Vertues and manners, says the Philosopher, conduce much to persuade. The foundation of perpetual commendation and good fame, is goodness, fidelity, and justice, without which nothing can be commendable. Let him not therefore be an hater of good men, or a calumniator; let him not persecute men with injurious words or actions publickly or privately.

Truth also should be still in the mouth of a Councillor; for there is nothing more base than such Councillors, who conceal the same from their Prince. But truth procureth hatred. What then? He deserves not the name of a Councillor, who is afraid thereof. *Who fears hatred too much knows not how to Govern, says Seneca.* We may sometimes not only bear and comply with the errors of our Prince, but also lovingly cover the same, yet in publick Consultations the truth should never be concealed. The contrary practice made *Pliny* complain, *We see such Courts, says he, wherein it's dangerous to speak what we would, and disgraceful to speak what*

what we would not. And in another place he commends *Trajan*, because he suffered his Councillors to give their opinions freely, and that the first was not approved, but the best. *Antistius Labeo* told *Augustus*, that every one ought to give their opinion freely, and without fear in the Senate. What doth it signifie, to be knowing and experienced in Affairs, and to nourish good endeavours, and the desire of well-doing, if the alacrity of the mind be wanting to express the same when occasion occurs; or if fear, suspicion, or any other impediment obstruct the free and sincere declaration of the heart.

But if any be found of a timorous spirit he should be encouraged by his Prince; for good Princes ought to stir up and animate their Councillors to speak freely, and to declare unto them that they (Princes) only seek what is conducing to the publick profit*, and to hear their opinions with * *Paleot.* attention, and a pleasant countenance. Who doubts but that the freedom of good counsel is obstructed when the Prince is angry, and does manifest that he hears more willingly what pleaseth than what is profitable. The safety of that Prince, says the Historian, is desperate, to whom what is profitable is harsh, and who hears nothing with patience but what is smoothing. VVhen it was debated in the Roman Senate, whether the Corn brought

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from *Sicily* should be given *gratis*, or sold for a small price to the Common-people: *Coriolanus* stood up, and told 'That they ought not 'to have any thing by way of Gift, that there- 'by they should be the more petulant and lascivious; that it was better to hold them low 'with want and penury, whereby they would 'of necessity be more modest, and more ready 'to go about their duty; that thereby they 'should employ themselves * with

* *Dionys.*

Halicar.

l. 7.

Liv. l. 2.

Plin de Vi-

ris illust.

'manuring their Lands, and not with 'raising and fomenting seditions, and 'that idleness and luxury which 'proceeds from abundance would 'make the Laws contemned, A no-

ble and Aristocratical opinion, but not at all popular. Therefore the *Tribunes* who heard the same in the Senate, did relate it to the people, by whom incontinently a day is appointed to *Coriolanus*. But he did easily free himself of his accusation, though the people were very much incensed against him. They acknowledged that *Coriolanus* had done nothing but his duty. VVhere is there any liberty of speaking, if not in deliberations and giving of counsel? King *Lysimachus* did show great favour to *Philippides* the *Athenian*, because he did speak freely and sincerely, and did lead a good and honest life, free

* *Plin.*

from adulation. *Hieron* * used to say, That there was no man trouble-
some

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some to him who spoke freely. Severus did not only shew himself courteous and affable to all men, but he desired them also to speak freely what they thought, and would argue with them without disdain * or bitterness. *Messala Valerius* being enquired by *Tiberius* †, whether he did give his opinion by his command or not, did answer that it was of his own accord, and that he would never use an other Opinion than his own, in things belonging to the Common-wealth. And I would advise a Prince not to trust those who use to praise † what is either good or bad in him.

* *Ælius Lamprid. in Alex.*

† *Tacit. lib. 1. annal.*

† *Tacit. lib. 2. annal.*

But here a Counsellor ought to shun two extremes: The one lest he confound his freedom of speech with boldness and immodesty, which comes to pass, when any obstinate in their own opinion, under colour of freedom, doth reflect on others, which ought rather to be called petulancy, than ingenious and innocent freedom. For that which is innocent has only regard to the publick good, says *Tacitus*. The other is, lest under pretext of well-doing he fall into plain flattery. We shall find an Example of such adulation in *Plutarch*. Hear, O *Tiberius* * *Cæsar*, for what we do all tacitly reprehend you, though no man dare do it publickly; you destroy your body

* *De descrip. amicorum & adulator.*

with

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with continual cares for the Republick. Behold the flattery of some base parasite, to a Bloody Tyrant.

S E C T. I.

Of his Attention and Diligence.

It is also requisite for a Councillor to give an attentive ear, to what-ever is spoken in Council, and by what arguments they confirm their Opinion, lest he erre in his answers: which *Lycurgus* desiring to show, of what moment this was, commanded there should be no pictures in Council-rooms, lest the thoughts of Councillors should be diverted; but that they might be wholly taken up with what they had in hand.

Out of Council let him be diligent in meditating, reading, arguing, and considering the end of every thing, every circumstance, and the various contingencies in humane actions; which is a practical knowledge, and very profitable in the administration of

* *Plut. in moral.*

Affairs. * It is most requisite in our Councillor to use this exact diligence in consultations, that he may conjecture by observ'd experiments what is the evil consequence of every bad deliberation, and what are the causes of obstructions, which may

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may be found out by a diligent foresight.

And seeing many inconveniences do arise from his ignorance of that Common-wealth wherein he serves, and whereof he has the care; it is requisite that he know the least thing belonging thereto, but especially such as pertain to the command in which he is: Let him consider the nature of his own and Neighbouring People. Some things are to be regarded in an old and firmly settled Commonwealth, which is not so much expos'd to Envy and Sedition; and other things are more properly to be regarded in a new ill-grounded one.

He should also know the nature of the Prince and Court, thereby to understand perfectly the dispositions of other Ministers and Councillors, what the Command of the Prince is, what Provinces, Cities, Towns, and Forts are under his Subjection, the Scituation of Places, &c. What is controverted in the Principality, with whom, and for what causes, wherein the People are most delighted, by what they are sustain'd, how they are affected toward their Prince, what the customes and subsidies of the people are, what are imported and exported; what his Treasury is, whether his Subjects are oppress'd with Taxes or other Burthens; whether they are rich or poor, what number of Soldiers can be rais'd in particular Provinces; what

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what Leagues, Affinities, and Confederacies his Prince has with other Nations, what can be expected thereby. And finally, let him consider all his study, care, thoughts and diligence, in every thing, which neglected, might prove detrimental to the Republick. *Who knew the Nature of the Vulgar*, says Tacitus, *and the Inclinations of the Senate, were esteemed knowing and wise Men.*

It's the part also of a vigilant and diligent Councillor, to catch hold of any suddain occasion. Wherefore we see great men have come to that greatness by prudently laying hold of good occasions. The Popes of Rome used to implore the aid of the *Constantinopolitan Emperors*, upon any eminent danger from a Foreign Enemy, for whose negligence Charles the great was called by Pope Leo the * third, and he by knowing prudently to lay hold on the occasion, and taking the patronage of the Roman Church upon him, did purchase the Empire to himself and his posterity. Upon the like accompt the French, at the instigation of the Pope of Rome, did become Masters of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. *Alphonfus* King of Arragon being call'd to the Kingdom of Naples by Queen Johanne, and he not neglecting so good an occasion, did obtain that Kingdom with the great

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great applause of the *Neopolitans*, and consent of the Pope. There could be more examples produc'd: but let these suffice to excite the diligence of a Counsellor, to lay hold on occasions, where great prudence is needful.

But it may be inquir'd in this place, whether a Counsellor or Minister of State ought to be so diligent, that he is oblig'd to give his Council to his Prince, although he be not required thereto. The inveterate Custom of requiring counsel doth move the doubt, because this man who intrudes himself in giving the same seems curious, and would have his prudence esteemed greater than either that of his Prince, or the rest of his fellow-Ministers. As it is not the part therefore of a prudent Physician, to intrude himself to a sick person, not being call'd, so neither that of a Counsellor to a Prince. But notwithstanding this, the more learned do think, that in matters of great moment, when necessity urgeth, he may speak, although not required, for the publick good; and there is no doubt but that this was observed by the *Romane Senators*. Is it not granted, says Scap-tius to the *Consuls*, to speak for the good of the *Republick*; Which notwithstanding will be the more seasonable and fortunate, if a Counsellor examine diligently his Council which he is to give, lest he should be deceived, which would be ridiculous; and then all circumstances, whether he has spoken formerly upon the
like

like accompt to his Prince, whether Time, Place, or the State of Affairs do require it, whether it can more opportunely be deferred, whether he himself be acceptable and in favour with his Prince; or whether he thinks that it can be done more effectually by another, whether others did make tryal of the like, and with what success. Another Question may arise in this place; Whether a Councillor knowing somewhat to be done in the Council unto which he cannot assent with a safe Conscience may keep himself at home that day, without being defective in his Duty? The doubt is, because it's better not to come, than be forc'd to assent to a bad Council. But the contrary is clear from the former question: for if I am obliged to give my Council to my Prince, though not required, for the Publick good; much less can I shun asking. It is so far therefore, from being a lawful excuse, that on the contrary it obligeth a Councillor * the more to be present

Palae. 5. 4. 8. that Day. The occasion of more weighty and difficult Affairs distinguisheth true Councillors from others; for the former, the more dangerous business are, the more do they prepare themselves for such, for the good of the Republick. The other do withdraw, when the least Dangers or Difficulties do arise. It was written above the Gate of the Roman Senate-

Senate-house, * *Senatori qui neg-*
aderit, aut causa, aut culpa, esto. * *Cicero de Li-*
gibus.

Plinarch says of Cato †, that he
 † *in ejus vita*
 came always to the Senate. He
 was afraid lest any thing should have been done
 through favour in his absence. It's the part of a
 good Senator, says Cicero, to be always present in
 the Senate. Should he deserve the name of
 a Souldier, who being commanded to fight
 would shun the same for any evident danger.
 Neither let it move a Councillor that he himself
 only shall be of his own Opinion, and there-
 fore that his coming to Council shall be to no
 effect: For besides, that this is no lawfull ex-
 cuse for his absence, How oft I pray you do
 we see, that one has drawn all the rest of dis-
 ferent Opinions to his, By the strength of Rea-
 son and Arguments; but granting that it were;
 not so, yet it will be sufficient that he has done
 his Duty.

SECT. II.

Of his Secresie.

That which next belongs to the Duty of a
 Councillor is, that upon no account he divulge
 any secret committed to him: for if it be hateful
 to reveal the Secret of a Friend, in a private
 person; how much more is it in a Minister of

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State to divulge the Councils or Determinations of his Prince, contrary to his own fidelity. The Law of the *Egyptians**

* *Diodor. Siculus lib. 38.*

did command that Man's Tongue to be cut out, who did detect the Secrets of the Common-

wealth. I say Secrets; for there are several matters handled in Councils; which are not so, as the reformation of Manners, the punishment of Vice and Impiety; from the relation of which there is neither scandal nor hurt to be feared. *Tully* gives this excellent commendation of *Cato*: That there was never word escap'd him, whereof he had reason to be sorry afterward.

We read that *Quintus Fabius*

* *Valer. Max. lib. 2. cap. 1.*

Max. * was reproved by the *Consuls* in very sharp words, for speaking something concerning

the third *Punic War*, which being resolv'd upon in the *Senate* secretly, was to be declar'd shortly after.

The constancy of *Pompey* was admirable†, who being *Embassador*, was intercepted by King *Gentius*, and being commanded

† *Val. Max. lib. 3. c. 3.*

to reveal the designs of the

Romane Senate, did hold his finger to a burning Torch, by which constancy the King despairing to extort any thing from him by torments, did insist no farther thereon.

S E C T. III.

Of his Fortitude.

From this last example it doth appear, that a Councillor ought to have a bold and undaunted courage, lest he be afraid of offending any, when he is about his Duty. *There is nothing more pernicious in a Commonwealth, than such a Councillor * who is timorous, who shuns pains and diligence, and who too much fears his Life and Fortune.* Who is

* *Osor de Regnum instinum.*

not diligent doth make no progress in Affairs, he prolongs them, or leaves the administration thereof to wicked Men, and doth accumulate business upon business; who fears dangers doth confirm the boldness of his Enemies. *The Councils of timorous men, says Tacitus, † are uncertain.* Metellus per-

† *Lib. 3. an alium.*

ceiving the designs of the Tribunes of the people, and with what danger they would burst out to the prejudice of the Commonwealth, chose rather to be exil'd, than consent to their Laws. *Can any Man be called more constant than this Man, says Valerius Maximus, who lest he should have been forc'd to recal his Opinion, suffered himself rather to be banish'd his Country,*

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wherein he had obtain'd the greatest degree of honour? Sylla did enter Rome armed and convening the Senate was very instant, that *Marius* should be declar'd an Enemy, and when none durst withstand him, only *Scevola* would not assent thereto: although says he, *you threaten me with Legions of Souldiers, with whom you have already surrounded the Senate-house, or with Death it self, yet shall you not make me declare Marius an Enemy, who saved Rome and all Italy from apparent ruine.* He is not a Man of any Fortitude whose courage doth not grow amidst the greatest dangers.

Yet notwithstanding we ought not to be forgetful of the reverence due to our Prince: For to give due observance and reverence to him, and to be punctual in our Duty without fear, are not inconsistent.

But what we have spoken of Constancy, is not so to be understood, that a Councillour may not sometimes change his Opinion upon any good emergent cause. It is fitter to change for the better, than insist in what is badly begun. Neither needs he fear the blame of Levity: For no learned Man, says Cicero, will call that unconstancy. And in another place, he says, that a constant obstinate perseverance in one Opinion was never commendable in great States-men.

S E C T. IV.

Of his Temperance.

HO W necessary a vertue this is, will appear from the advantages and benefits acquired by the due observance of it; for she alone, (*like a skilful Pilot*) keeps us steady in the tempestuous occurrences of weighty matters, and makes every faculty of our Souls officious in their subserviency to Reason, without which the Soul (as a Bark becalm'd at Sea) suffers a vertigo, by the suddain stop of her progress; and having lost her rudder rowles too and fro in a in a fantastick motion, till she become drunk with the agitation which has lull'd her functions asleep in vitious stupidity, and made her wholly useless.

How difficult a Vertue this is, may be collected from so numerous a variety of objects of repugnant natures both exterior and interior, which continually invade the sensual faculties of the soul to embrace them, affording indeed such strong Temptations, as no intermission can well afford him time to deliberate on the refusal.

We would advise therefore our Councillor in the first place, to shun Envy and Ambition, as more especially coincident to the corruption

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of his Ministry. For such infected with those two vices, cannot but have more regard to their own ends, than to the Honour of their Prince and good of their Country, and are oft-times the cause of their own, and Countries destruction, of which History furnisheth us with almost innumerable examples.

In the next place it belongs also to the Duty of a Councillor, to shun Avarice and study Liberality. As Avarice is the root of all evil, so Charity and Beneficence is the root of all good. *You shall do a great good, says Salust to your Country, your self, and to all mankind, if you eradicate, or if that be not possible, you lessen the desire of riches: For where that takes possession, neither Discipline, good Arts, nor a good Genius have any force. And a little after: But Avarice is a cruel and intolerable wild Beast, which destroys Cities, Lands, Houses, yea and the very Temples of the Gods, mixeth what is Divine with Humane, and neither Arms nor Walls do hinder it from penetrating. Marcus Crassus was the most noble, most eloquent, most learned in the Laws; was Chief-Priest, and the richest of all the Romans next to Sylla. But insatiable Avarice did obscure those virtues. If the desire of private gain, says Demosthenes, do not obstruct the publick good, it is in some measure tolerable for Councillors to be rich; but because we see for the most part, how much a Minister of State increaseth in riches,*

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so much is the Common-wealth depauperated. Let a Councillor therefore beware of too much desire of gain, for his too weighty Coffers are often the cause of his own destruction,

Let him also shun Prodigality as much as Avarice. Make use of such Councillors, says

Basilus, † who have governed their own Estate well; for how can one trust another with his Estate, who never knew to manage his own aright. Great circum-

† King James to his Sonne Prince Henry in his βασιλικον δαειν.

spection is to be us'd in Liberality,

says Cicero. Our riches should not be so closely shut up, that benignity cannot open them: nor always so unlock'd as to be open upon every occasion to all.

S E C T. I.

Of his Curteous and Affable Deportment.

But Meekness, Courtesie, Piety, Benevolence towards our Neighbour, and Hospitality, are the Concomitants of Liberality. Let therefore a Councillor be of easy access, let him encourage the bashful and timorous; let him hear Strangers with Patience and Civility, and let not the reasonable requests of any be troublesom to him. By which procedure he shall not only do his Duty, but also ob-

D +

tain

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tain the good-will of all Men. *Marcus Crassus* was much commended † because he did not refuse any Citizen at any time his Patronage; was affable and civil to all, and only of all Men, made Avarice popular.

Great Men use to be touch'd with the desire of Glory above measure, from whence Pride and the contempt of others do proceed.

† *De Bello Jugur.* *A concerning Spirit and Pride,* says *Salust*, † *are the Common-evils of the Nobility.* Therefore I would have a Councillor think fre-

† *Tacitus lib. 4. hist.* quently, † that all things belonging to Mortals are unconstant, and that the more he has ob-

tain'd, the more uncertain he is therein: that Modesty and Humility ought not to be contemned by the greatest of Men; and that God is a lover of Humility and an hater of Pride and Arrogance. If you would measure your own shadow, says *Archidamus* to King *Philip*, who did write proudly and arrogantly to him, after his Victory at *Charonea*, you shall not find it one hair greater than before your Victory.

C H A P.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Prudent Deportment of Princes in Councils.

BUT because it is not sufficient to give prudent Council, unless the Prince make use of it, and it is as great Wisdom, amongst the divers Councils of many to discern and put in execution what are best, as to give Council aright; for, according to *Cicero*, *there is prudence required as well in taking, as in giving Council.* It comes often to pass, that Princes are deceived, to the great prejudice of the Republick, who attribute too much to themselves and their own opinion. *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, having left *Alexandria* upon some controversie † with his Subjects, did come to *Rome* to be restored to his Kingdom by *Pompey* and *Caesar*. Having consulted *Cato* touching this matter, he was freely and ingeniously reprehended by him for deserting such happiness, and objecting himself to the affronts, briberies, and avarice of the Roman Nobility, and advised to regain the favour of his Subjects. But one day waiting long at the Gates of one of the Senators, he did lament his in-

† *Plutar.*
in Cato.

con.

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considerate enterprize, and that he had refused the advice of so good a Man. *Hannibal*, when he fled to King *Antiochus*, did advise him to make *Italy* the Seat of the War, which he neglected: But being o'recome by the *Romans*, he confessed too late that *Hannibal* had rightly foreseen, what was absolutely necessary to have been done. *I have oft-times heard,*

says *Livius*, † that he is the first
† *Lib. 36.* Man who counsels aright; that he

is the next who can accept, or make use of a good Council; and that he is the last of all who can neither give nor receive the same. But because to be first is deny'd us, let us endeavour to be second, and whilst we learn to command, let us resolve to obey the Council of prudent men.

But sometimes Princes are doubtful, timorous, and as *Cæsar* says, every thing fails them, and so not having their Judgment clear, they are deceived, and brought to inconveniences. Which *Guicciardin* did observe in *Peter de Medices* seeking Council and Advice from the *Venetians*, who endeavoured therein to serve their own ends. Also the Council of *Ludovick Sforce* may be observed, whereby he moved the *French King* to undertake that *Neopolitane* expedition against the *Arragons*.

Great Judgment therefore is needful, not only in choosing Counsellors, whether they are so qualified as we have spoken of formerly,
whether

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whether they have born any publick charge, and whether they have shown Diligence and Fidelity in the administration thereof; whether they are the heads of any faction, lest under pretence of Justice they revenge private Quarrels with publick Arms: but also in following Councils. *It's the greatest prudence in humane life, says Aristotle, to make good use of advice.* The words of *Asutianus* to *Vespasian* are to be observed: † *Who so-*
ever enters into deliberations of † *Tacitus lib. 2.*
great and weighty Affairs, ought
to examine whether what is begun, be profitable to
the Common-wealth, honourable or feasible. He also who Councils must be considered, whether he adds his own danger to his advice, or to whom the chief praise redounds. Let him therefore who is to consult consider diligently, whether what is consulted concerns the Councillor directly, for all Councils in a mans own cause are to be suspected; or whether it be honest or lawful: for if it deviate from honesty, it is bad: whether it doth principally regard the publick good or private profit: let him hear patiently what is spoken by contrary parties, and disagreeing opinions, and observe with what Reasons and Arguments they are confirmed. If the business seem difficult, let him deliberate better, or defer it to another time. *There is no greater E-*

very thing to be feared as we have spoken of formerly
whether

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nemy to Consultations, says Livius, than too much hast. Too late and unprofitable repentance doth follow such Councils. Therefore the Author of the Utopian Common-wealth says, That

nothing is disputed there † the same day it's propounded in the Council, but defer'd till the next Council-day, lest any should babble

out what comes first in his Mouth, but that he may in leisure excogitate with what Arguments he may defend his Opinion; lest through a perverse and preposterous shame, he should rather destroy the publick safety, than the fame of his own abilities, by his precipitated rather than considerate Opinion. This precept or advice seems

to be taken from the Emperour Severus, who after the business propos'd, did give time to his Councillors to deliberate with themselves touching all Particulars and Circumstances, lest they should have been forc'd to speak of great Affairs without mature deliberation, which has also been the destruction of many, who despising slow, yet secure Councils, did embrace contrary ones. † Lau-

rentius Medices Duke of Florence, did vary when he consulted his Friends, whose Fidelity or Constancy he suspected. Whom he resolv'd to admit into his consultation, he did consult them not together, but severally; so when he found many opinions to agree in one, he thought that the best. It

† Sir Tho. More
lib. 2. de Magistrat.

† Tac. lib. 2.
annal.

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It is requisite also for a Prince to know every thing done relating to the State in his Dominions, lest he be deceived by bad Counsellors. But he must take heed in the meanwhile that he give not too much credit to malicious detractors and tale-bearers: For mere lyes and calumnies are often buz'd in the Princes ears thereby, from whence do proceed the danger, yea destruction of the innocent. It's observ'd by wise-men, that such persons are never faithful. Says Tacitus,

† they are a sort of People found out for Publick Destruction. † lib. 4. an.

A Prince should suffer his Counsellors to give their opinion freely, so as in the meanwhile they be joyn'd amongst themselves by mutual concord. Factions amongst States-men are ever fatal. The pertinacy of private hatred, says Tacitus, † doth often draw on Publick Destruction. And † lib. 1. best. in another place †, The hatred of the Consuls tends to the Destruction of the Commonwealth. † lib. 5. annal.

Those great Men have many followers, to whom they easily joyn themselves, by whose help they exercise their hatred, to the undoing of many, and sometimes of their Prince and Country to boot.

I add also, that Princes should choose Counsellors not through recommendations, and friendship, but such as he knows well-qualified

qualified, and able for such employment. And finally, a Prince ought not to discard or turn off, without great cause, the good and faithful Councillors of his predecessors, from whom he might learn much, very profitable to good government. *Louis* the eleventh, King of *France*, advised his Sonne *Charles* not to innovate any thing in the Government of the Kingdom; and to retain his Ancient Favorites, and Servants: For he had found by experience, that his banishing from the Court, Men of approved vertue, was the only cause that he had fall'n into so many and so great dangers, and of the War and manifold Conspiracies which did soon after break forth.

C H A P. V.

Of Affairs deliberated in Councils.

VWE have already spoken of the Persons in a Council, it follows that we speak something of Affairs and Debates deliberated therein. Such only are to be agitated in this great Consistory which belong to the greatest Affairs of the Commonwealth, and to the State it self: As those of Religion, and of the Laws and Magistrates,

of

Part I. Of Councils and Councillors. 27

Peace and War, of Publick Fidelity, of keeping the Publick Peace, of entring into Leagues and defending the same, of the Controversies of the Grandees, of the Negligence of Magistrates and Officers of State, of the Secrets of Embassies and the like. † For the Council of Princes ought to be busied with grand Affairs, and not with trivial Matters, or the small Controversies of private Persons. Whoso assembles a Council of great and learned men for matters of small moment, may be compared to *Apion*, who having call'd *Homer* from the dead did only inquire who were his Parents. † *Boet. lib. 2. c. 1.*

But if you desire to know where other business should be handled, such as belong to the Revenues and Treasury of the Prince, to the punishment of delinquents and the like? I answer, there ought to be more Councils appointed differing in Offices, Business and Ministers. The *Spaniard* has seven, separated by so many Courts within the Kings Palace, that he may easily go to any as Affairs call him. The first is that of the Exchequer, which has the care of the publick Treasure, and of the Revenues of the Empire, of the Tributes and Customes of the Subjects, of what is imported and exported, of the Lands, of the Crown, of the spoils of Enemies, of Merchandise, &c. The second is the Court Military, which is employ'd

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employ'd about the fortification of Towns, the Custodie of bordering places, the provision for Camps and Armies, and the like. The third is for the Provision of Victual, and has a care that so much abound, that a part thereof may be sent to Neighbouring Provinces. The fourth is the Court of Law, whereunto all private, civil Controversies do belong. The fifth is Criminal, whereunto the cognizance of criminal matters doth pertain. The sixth is Censorial, to which the castigation of Manners is committed. And the last is the great Court which has the Authority over all the former, and hath the care of making and abrogating of Laws.

CHAP. VI.

Of the end of Councils

WHatever man does should always be to some end. Whoso therefore is ignorant thereof, loseth the hope of obtaining the same. *Our Councils must erre*, says Seneca, *which have not a Mark wherunto they are directed.* As therefore a Physician doth propose to himself the health of his Patient, and a General Victory; so should a Councillor the Glory of God, and the Honour and good
of

good of his Prince and Country. It is apparent enough, by the reading of Ancient Writers, that the Roman Senate did chiefly regard, what was conducing to the good of the Republick, to the profit of the City, and to the Common safety. Hence you see those usual forms; *E Republica esse*, also, *Si quis aliter fecisset, eum contra rempublicam facturum*. Who rules the Common-wealth, says Cicero, ought to remember two precepts of Plato; the one is, so to regard the utility of their Country, that whatever they do may tend thereto, forgetting their own private interest. The other to have a care of the whole Body of the Common-wealth, lest by only defending one part, they desert the rest: For the administration of the Republick should tend to the profit of those who are to be protected, and not of such to whom their protection is intrusted.—(Claudian.)

Tu civem patremque geras, tu consule cunctis.

Nec tibi, nec tua te moveant, sed publica cura.

Thou must a Father to thy Country be,
Provide for all, not for thy self only;
If thou'lt deserve that every Man should love
thee,
Let publick good not private profit move thee.

The publick good should be understood, not so much to belong to the Prince, as to the

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Common-

Common-wealth. For he himself ought to neglect his own private profit if it be contrary to the publick good. Few have a care of the Publick Honour, says Tacitus, which should be chiefly regarded by a Cancellor, and whereof the Athenians were very careful: For *Themistocles* had determined, after his victory over *Xerxes*, that his Country should obtain the Principality of Greece, and for that end had resolved to burn the Fleet of the *Lacedemonians* privately, that thereby their Riches and Strength might be ruin'd; he did therefore tell the People, that he had something to propose of great consequence, and desired them to name one to consult with him about it, lest being divulg'd by the Multitude it might prove prejudicial to the Common-wealth, whereupon *Aristides* was named by the people; who after hearing, seeing *Themistocles* erre in the end, which was the publick honour, did relate that his Council was profitable to the Republick, but dishonourable and flagitious. The whole Assembly did therefore incontinently declare, that that Council was to be rejected, which to the addition of command did joyn publick dishonour. Tacitus doth find amongst the Writers of those times, that the Letters of *Adgandreftius* were read in the Senate, wherein he Promised the death of *Arminius*, if poyson should be sent to him to effect the same, and answered by them, that the *Romanes* would take

take Revenge of their Enemies publicly and armed, and not by fraud and murder. Whatever Deeds, (says the Lawyer) are against Religion, Reputation, and Good Manners are upon no account to be done by us.

These are (if not all) at least the chief things which can be spoken generally of Councils, and which I have brought to an end, with, I hope, no empty brevity, having added the Testimonies of learned Authors. I therefore leave it to the Judgment of the candid and judicious Readers.

The end of the First Part.

THE WELL-QUALIFIED COURTIER

PART II.

THE PROEMIE.

IT's frequently seen, that Courtiers who cannot obtain those Preferments, Honours and Riches, whereunto they have long aspired, accuse the ingratitude of their Prince: sometimes they impute their misfortunes to the envy of their Fellow-Courtiers; and sometimes to the blindness of Fortune: and then exclaim with *Seneca*,

*O Fortuna viris invid afortibus,
Quam non aqua bonis premia dividis?*

O Unjust

O Unjust Fortune, brave Men often find,
Rewards unworthy of a noble mind.

But for the most part in my opinion they complain without cause. For although Princes do often bestow greater Riches and Honours on Parasites and Flatterers, and do trust such more willingly, than those to whom (perhaps) they owe their Life and Scepter: For that saying of *Tacitus* is most true, *That obligations are acceptable so long as they seem to be within the compass of reward, but when they are without the same, they procure hatred in lieu of favour.* And although good and modest men are often deluded by the fraud of Wicked Courtiers, by whose secret accusations, says *Tacitus*,* they are disgrac'd, being ignorant thereof, and that they may the more easily be deceived, they are prais'd to their faces; yet notwithstanding men may see (for let us always acknowledge the truth) that the effects of the evils do proceed from themselves, who are the causes thereof; because they follow the Court, being destitute of those Arts, Manners, and Qualifications requisite in a Courtier.

It's a great folly to undertake any thing above our reach, and there is hardly so bad a Prince to be found, who desires not that his Affairs should be managed with diligence and prudence, and consequently doth bestow Ho-

nours and Riches on faithful and prudent Ministers.

But Envy, which is always the concomitant of Vertue, and follows her as the shadow doth the body, is often an obstruction of our honest endeavours. Let that be granted; *Tet we must o'recome that with our prudence,* says Tacitus.

But you insist that the favour of Princes is unconstant, and that those who can do all and all with them, do often notwithstanding fall into disgrace, - yea and in danger of their Lives.

*Namque, hos e * summo quasi
fulmen dejicit ictos
Invidia, interdum contemptum
in tartara terra.*

* *Lucret. lib. 5.
de. re. nat.*

As if with Thunder struck than Envy must
What's high exalted level with the dust.

Hermias was of great Authority with *Antiochus* * : yet he was killed in the fight and by the approbation of this Prince. *Lucius Alens Sejanus* was in such favour with *Tiberius* * that he made him his Collegue in the Empire; yet he was adjudg'd to dye, his Body to be thrown into the River *Tyber*, and his Children

* *Polyb. l. 7.*

* *Dio. in Tyberio.*

to be murdered, and many others whom for brevities sake I omit.

This is all true, but if we will take a more strict observation, we shall find that the favour of Princes is not in it self destructive, but to those who know not how to use the same. Men cannot be cautious enough, says *Curtius*, * amidst so many flatteries of Fortune. Intolerable am- * *lib. 4.* bition and Pride made *Hermias* hated; treason and perfidiousness was the cause of *Alius Sejanus's* destruction. Neither ought we to admire that in Courtiers, when we find that Princes themselves have been brought to ruine on the same occasion.

*Quid memorem everfas urbes Regumque ruinas?
Inque rogo Cræsum Priamumque in litore truncum,*

*Cui nec Troja rognus. Quid Xerxem majus et ipso?
Naufragium pelago, quid captos agmine reges?*

Of ruin'd Kings why should I mention make?

The fate of *Priam*, *Crasus* at the stake.

How *Xerxes* great from as great Shipwrack
(fled,

And Kings in triumph often captive led.

On the contrary, if we behold those who from a low birth have become famous, and ponderate their actions, we shall find that they

have been eminently qualified above others. As *Agathocles*, *Ptolomy the first*, *Hieron*, *Servius*, *Tullius*, *Silla*, *Vespasian*, the Emperour *Probus*, *Justin*, *Ottoman*, and many more, who although of obscure birth, did notwithstanding obtain great Honours, and royal Dignities, by their vertue and diligence. Great Trees which are long in growing, says *Curtius*, are extirpated in a short time. It's folly for him who aims at their fruit, not to consider their height. Beware lest in striving to get to their top, you do not fall with those Branches you catch'd hold of.

CH A P. I.

Of his Education.

T Herefore good Education is most effectual, which directs the Councils and Determinations of Men's Lives to the exactest rule of prudence and true vertue; by which Natures are corrected and made pliable. Nature produceth youth easy to be led either way, so that when it finds a Guide, it is induc'd to follow either his vitious or vertuous inclinations. A good nature conduceth very much, but then especially when cultivated by an honest

nest Education. He must therefore have a care who has noble and high designs, to be instructed in all good Arts and Manners, not to accustom himself to delicate but simple food, not to idleness but labour, not to riot but decent parsimony, not to temerity and impudence, but modesty and sweetness; not to licentiousness but fear and reverence, not to pleasures but to the Liberal Sciences. I wish, says *Quintilian*, that we did not so abuse the nature of our Children; that tender education, which we call indulgence, breaks the nerves of both body and mind.

We see therefore *Plato*, that most grave teacher of vertue, in almost all his Dialogues, exhorting Parents to educate their Children aright.

Though this principle unfoldeth many objects necessary to the forming our present subject. Yet since most of them are rather preparatives than polishments, we will here pass by those institutions, that are usually proper to the two first Ages, infancy and puerility. And taking our Courtier in his adolescence, propose only in reference to our present subject, those distinctions requisite to his employment, *languages, letters, and travel.*

But because we have spoken already of all those in the first part, we think it superfluous to insist thereon. Only let not a Courtier be ignorant of the knowledge of Histories, without

out which a man can hardly obtain the name of a grave and prudent person. As an old man is esteemed more prudent than a young man, says *Quintilian*, because he has seen what has fallen out through the course of many years : so we must confess that he is the most prudent, who knows the actions and events, not only of his own but of past Ages. What is prudence else, but the observation of events, and of things present and future, drawn from what is by-past. History is the mirror of civil life, where Hero's, Princes, and Nobles, who are appointed to Govern, ought to behold themselves. To be short, History furnisheth us not only with Examples of civil prudence, but also with those of Military Vertue. If one would know how to take the occasions of time and place to fight, let him

* *Plutarch*. read the Lives of * *Lyfander* and *Xantippus*. If he would make use

of warlike stratagems, let him imitate *Timotheus*, *Iphicrates*, and *Hannibal*. If being victorious he would let the Enemy escape, lest despair should produce boldness, let

† *Id.* him read the Example of † *Themistocles* to *Xerxes*. But if any affirm

that such things cannot be learned by reading only, let him propose to himself *Lucius Lucullus*, whom *Cicero* writes at his departure from *Rome* to have been altogether ignorant of military Affairs, but partly by enquiry, partly

partly by reading, he was become so great a Captain when he came into *Asia*, that *Mithridates* did confess he never knew a greater. I only add, seeing there are abundance of Historians, that we must chuse the best. Amongst the *Grecians*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, and *Nicetas* were famous. Amongst the *Romans*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, *Salust*, *Cesar*, *Quintus Curtius*, and *Suetonius*. Of modern Historians, *Guicciardine*, *Comestagius*, *Cominus*, *Sleidan*, and *Davila* are the best.

These are so to be read, that we may observe not only what was done, but upon what occasion, what way, when, and in what state of Affairs.

CHAP. II.

Of his sweetness and integrity of Manners in general.

FOR brevities sake, which hitherto I have greatly affected; I will forbear to speak any more of the rest of the exercises of the mind comprehended in Learning, or of the exercises of the Body, as riding, fencing, dancing and the like, of all which our Courtier should not be ignorant, and only insist, though succinctly, on his

his sweetness, affability and manners, which *Cicero* calls the *Ornament of humane life*, and which procures the deserved love and admiration of all. For as the beauty and comeliness of the body attracts the eyes of men, so a sweet and courteous nature gains the hearts and affections of every one. *As harsh wine, says Socrates, is unpleasant to the taste; so are rugged and rustick manners to conversation.*

S E C T. I.

Of his Gate, Speech and Habit.

It is not sufficient to do, says the Historian, but it's also requisite to do with a grace. Let not therefore the Gate of a Courtier incline to levity or vanity, but let it be grave without affectation.

And because the speech is the Character of the mind, he shall observe a decorum therein, of Persons, Times and Place, that he may speak pertinently, and after a different manner to his Prince, Equals and Inferiours. For this Elegancy in speaking is a sign of the interiour virtue, which cannot be perpetual, unless it proceed from such an excellent inclination of the Soul. Much can be feigned in the Carriage, Countenance and Speech, which are not in the Soul; but it's impossible that it can be

be of any long continuance.

And as to the habit, let every thing be avoided that may therein effeminate: whoſo has too great a care of his Body, ſays a Divine, neglects his Soul. Let the habit of a Courtier be agreeable with a decency to the Country and Court wherein he lives, handſom and fashionable without affectation, which he ſhould change according to the Place, Cauſe, Age, or Time.

Subject. I. *Of his Deportment towards his Prince.*

What we have already ſpoken is of great moment in our Courtier, but what ſhall follow will be of far greater, and the more accurately to be obſerved, becauſe we ſee many erre therein.

Fiſt we ſhall ſhow how a Courtier ought to carry himſelf to his Prince, then to his Equals, therein to ſhun envy as much as poſſible may be, and laſtly with what virtues he ſhould be endued.

Above all things I admoniſh our Courtier to be ſuch in effect, as he would deſire to ſeem to his Prince and others, and let not his Tongue diſſent from his Heart. *He is as great an Enemy to me, ſays Homer, as the Gates of Hell, who ſpeaks one thing and thinks another. No Lye grows old, ſays Euripides.* And as the
love

love of Men to a painted More can be of no long continuance, (for with the first heat the deceit appears, and the face thereby becomes more ugly,) so when dissemblers are suspected (which commonly happeneth) they incur the hatred of their Prince and others. Real pain doth follow false pleasure; real disgrace, false Honour; and real destruction false profit. To omit, that it is against Christian-piety, which consists wholly in the simplicity of the mind.

*Verum bodie laus est non ultima, fingere vultum,
Et simulare probe: Nec qui vel fallere nescit,
Mentivive, ferit Sapientis nomen in aula.*

Diffimulation, and well-feigned faces,
Once hateful vices now are no disgraces:
Who cannot cheat, and lye, he strives in vain
The name of wise in Court e're to obtain.

Divis. 1. Of his Affiduity and Diligence.

Having laid this Foundation, I say that Affiduity and Diligence are necessarily requisite in our Courtier. This is chiefly to be regarded by us, says Antonius in Cicero, there is nothing which is cannot obtain: For whatever falls under our charge we accomplish with Care, Vigilance and Labour, and in a word Diligence, in which one Vertue all the rest are contain'd. It is good to be admir'd in what we have by Fortune.

Fortune. But it's far better to have obtain'd what is glorious and honourable, by our own industry; for the former happens to good and bad, but the other, (according to *Demosthenes*) to none but generous and brave spirits. We see Courtiers oft-times complain, that being very observant of their Prince, they are notwithstanding in little favour, and how should that be?

The Answer is easie, for when the Sun shines on divers Edifices, those seem most illustrious who have the greatest Glass-lights; so Princes advance such Courtiers most, who by vertue and diligence are the most fit for the administration of Affairs. By diligence therefore a Courtier will obtain that his Prince make frequent use of him; for such they favour more than others. *It's no wonder*, says *Demosthenes*, that he who refuseth no pains, is always present upon every occasion, and neglects not the least moment of time, to obtain his desires before others. All things fall out prosperously, says † *Salust*, by watching, doing, and consulting aright; † *Cato apud Salustium*. but when you addict your self to laziness and idleness, you shall in vain implore the angry Gods.

We call him a diligent Courtier who seldom removes his thoughts from what is committed to his charge, who makes it his only care that his Prince receive no prejudice,

Both

*Both to foresee and to prevent
Dangers as soon as they are meant.*

who spares no pains nor dangers, but rather remains as upon a perpetual watch, who if he be sent to another Prince, observes his nature and manners, his strength and power, his customs and treasure, his Confederates and Allies, and all his form of Government.

And so much of the diligence of our Courtier, where it's to be observed, that the least affected, and most remote from ostentation, is the most commendable. As *Paterculus* observes aright in *Piso*; that he did what was to be done without noise. As on the contrary, officious curiosity renders men hateful. *To be curious*, says *Cicero*, is to desire to know what doth not belong unto us: which denotes him to be a man of levity or little sincerity.

Divis. 2. Of his Secrecy.

Philopides did answer King *Lyfimachus* wisely, when he asked what he should communicate to him; *anything but your secrets*, says he. It is a most dangerous thing to know the secrets of Princes, because they are always jealous of such persons, says *Cassiodorus*. Therefore our Courtier should not reveal the secrets of his Prince to any, but especially such as he is intrusted with. The *Persians* did conceal the secrets of their

their Kings with admirable fidelity; no fear or hope could draw one syllable thereof from them, *and a man cannot undergo great Affairs, to whom it's a trouble to hold his tongue, says Curtius.* They are ridiculous, who out of an ostentative vanity, rejoyce to relate what is done every day in the Cabinet-council of their Prince, that thereby they may show how much they are in favour with him. A certain *Athenian* did invite the Embassadors of King *Philip* to his house, and some *Philosophers*, amongst whom *Zeno* was one, and when all were merry and argued much upon several Subjects, *Zeno* in the mean while was still silent. Which the Embassadors perceiving, did ask him what they should relate to their King. *That you have seen, answers Zeno, an old man at Athens who knew how to be silent amongst Cypri.* It is praise worthy to speak well, but it deserves no less praise to know when to be silent. When *Aristotle* sent *Calistines* his Scholar and Kinsman to *Alexander*, he did admonish him to speak seldom, and prudently to him, who had the power of life and death upon his tongue. Which advice rejected by *Calistines*, was the cause * of his destruction.

* *Curtius.*

In the next place I would advise our Courtier, to make as honourable mention of his former Master (if he has had any) as if he were yet alive; and not to complain

of him, although he thinks it acceptable to his Prince; otherwise he shall fall into two inconveniences. The one, the Prince shall imagine, that he may expect the like himself through process of time; the other he will think it the Courtiers own fault, that he was not in greater favour with his former Master.

Divis. 3. Of his love and affection to his Prince.

As the rayes cannot be separated from the Sun, heat from Fire, cold from Ice, nor Snow from whiteness, so cannot benevolence, familiarity, society, and concord be separated from love. Seeing, I say, nothing doth more gain affection than tokens of love, let a Courtier endeavour to the utmost of his power to make his Prince understand that he loves him. Love (according to the Proverb) begets love. It were ingratitude, indeed, not to love and favour those, by whom we know we are not a little beloved, and have our dependence. I would have signs of this affection towards our Prince shewn, so oft as occasion requires, not only in matters of great moment, as to suffer inconveniences, or lay down your very life for your Prince; but also in lesser concerns, if necessity requires.

To which 'tis much conducing to know the nature of his Prince, and of his Favourites,
and

and to observe to what he is naturally inclined. Histories shew by many Examples how much *Aristotle* did know the nature and inclinations of *Alexander*. And *Tacitus* says, that *Sejanus* knew exactly the nature of *Tiberius*.

The signs of love are these, to honour and respect not only the Prince himself, but all those whom he favours, to be so subservient to the humour of his Master, to shun the society of those whom he suspects, providing he avoid flattery and affectation.

Divis. 4. *Of flattery and affectation.*

Flattery is the sign of a lying, base, servile spirit, hateful to private men, and prejudicial to Princes, whom it infatuates and brings often to ruine. Therefore as we see them severely punished who throw poyson into publick Springs, so should they also, who by their adulation corrupt their Prince and Master, and draw him from the study of equity to wickedness, and from continency to follow his lustful inclinations. For the Prince is as a Fountain, from which the Laws flow, and justice is required; in him Examples of Vertue should be found; from him aid is implored against wicked men, and from him the reward of Vertue *† Agapodiaca.* is expected.

The other, which our Courtier should shun, is affectation; which though not so odious, yet is it the symptom of an unsolid and foolish spirit; For that too much diligence and subserviency to the humours of Princes carries the similitude of adulation, which is abominable.

To all which I shall only add two directions, the one is, That seeing prosperous Gates do not always breath in the Courts of Princes, we should, when they do, catch hold of the occasion. The other is, when you resolve to desire any thing from your Prince, those things are to be required, which he can bestow with the least expence.

Subject. 2. *Of his deportment towards his Equals.*

Now let us prosecute in few words what a Courtier should observe in his carriage toward his Equals. And first let him shun as much as possible he can every accident by which he may incur the wrath of his Companions. If he be preferred by his Prince, let him not forget or be ashamed of his old Friends, if honest men; let him not obstinately hinder the profit of others; let him not baffle his Friends, or jest too satyrically with them: For some there are, according to *Quintilian*, who had rather lose a Friend than a Jest. Consider
always

always diligently for what cause, in what company, against whom, and what is spoken.

A Courtier should beware that he use not any petulant or proud expression, not besitting the time, place, or persons.

Next, Let him beware of Flatterers and Dissemblers, for those do insinuate themselves to pry into mens secrets, that upon occasion they may obstruct their designs; and it is very difficult to distinguish such men from true friends: for, according to *Quintilian*, it's the greatest Art to conceal dissimulation cunningly. Notwithstanding, if our Courtier will use great circumspection, learn to know himself, and distinguish prudently his true friends, he shall easily detect the artifice of Dissemblers. Who therefore do extol hyperbolically your wit, vertue, and courtesie, and who cover your Vices with contrary vertues? who call Temerity Fortitude, Negligence Clemency, Prodigality Magnificence, and that always to your face; such you may justly suspect.

*Hunc quem vina tibi, quem mensa paravit amicum,
Esse putas fide pectus amicitia?
Vinum amat & cyathos & summa & ostrea, non
Sublato vino, nullus amicus erit?*

Think you that friendship always will indure,
Which wine and dainties only did procure?

He loves thy treats, and not thy self; therefore
When they are gone he'll be thy friend no
(more.

Let him be cautious therefore in choosing a
Friend; but so as to endeavour to obtain the
love of all; which he shall easily do, if he be
humane, liberal and affable to them.

S E C T. II.

Of his Vertues.

Now it remains that we speak of the Ver-
tues wherewith our Courtier should be qua-
lified; for there is nothing which allures more
the Affections of Men. *We love those in some re-
spects, says Tully, for their vertue, whom we
have never so much as seen; Who doth not hate
baseness, avarice, and cruelty? For there is no
man so flagitious, who would not desire to have
come to what he has obtain'd by wickedness,
without a Crime; for the baseness of the guilt
doth so much affect those who are addicted to
vice, that they are hateful to themselves, and do
carry their punishment in their own Consci-
ence. And although all the vertues should al-
lure us, and make us love those whom we see
indued therewith: yet some are more becom-
ing, according to the several qualities and
conditions*

conditions of Men. As for example, magnificence becomes a Prince, but not a Plebeian.

Subject. 1. *Of his Fortitude.*

First Fortitude is required in our Courtier, that if it be necessary he may with an undaunted mind offer himself to dangers for his Prince, his Country and himself. For as the Palm-tree doth not bow down when any weight hangs thereon, but of it's own accord raises it self up against its burthen; so the more a gallant spirit is oppress'd with business or the assaults of Fortune, the more doth he remain erected and undaunted, as *Pliny* prudently observes. Let not our Courtier fear too much what can befall him; let him suffer unfortunate accidents patiently, and let him not do any thing with a timorous and faint heart.

Subject. 2. *Of his Temperance.*

But pleasure is the mother of all evil, by whose flatteries what is good by nature is corrupted: Hence *Tully* no less truly than elegantly, *Who are led away with pleasures, say he, and give themselves to the allurements of vices and dishonest desires, let not such endeavour to attain to honours, nor meddle with the Common-wealth; let brave spirits suffer pains*

for their Country, and let them enjoy their lazy idleness. Therefore it's absolutely necessary that our Courtier be temperate. Temperance, says Seneca, commands over pleasures, &c. Xenophanes said, that nothing bad could proceed from that man, who had studied and embraced Temperance. No voluptuous pleasures deceive a temperate man; he keeps his Hands, Eyes, and Heart free from what doth not concern him; is not insnared with the pleasures of vice; lives sparingly, continently, strictly, and soberly. Moreover this vertue is the Mother of good health; as on the contrary intemperance is the cause of sickness and death. Two things (says Cornificius to Herennius) moves men most to wickedness, Luxury and Avarice. Whores are fatal pleasures; fly from them if you be wise. Caius Gracchus upon his return from Sardinia told the Romanes, that he had so lived in the Province, that no man could say he had taken a Farthing in Gifts or Bribes; or that any Whore had entred his House for two years time he had been there. I shall only add the words of Seneca concerning Ebriety. It doth include and detect every vice, it removes all shame which curbs bad designs; when too much Wine intoxicates the brain, whatever evil did formerly lurk bursts then out: then the Whore-Master doth not wait for a private room, but grants to his lust whatever it desires; then the impudent doth profess and publish his faults, then the

the potent doth contain neither Tongue, nor Hands: Pride grows in the insolent, and cruelty in the fierce, &c. And a little after, But consider, says he, what mischief this Vice has done, It has delivered fierce and War-like Nations to their Enemies; It has ruin'd invincible Armies, and destroyed conquering Princes. Travels, Fights, Rivers falling from unknown places, Seas, cold Winters, Dangers and Difficulties suffered Alexander to live. But excess of drinking did destroy him.

CHAP. III.

Whether an Ambassador may exceed the bounds of his Instructions.

BECAUSE Princes do often employ Courtiers in Embassies, I will only move one question, which I think not altogether impertinent in this place, though it has little coherence with our precedent discourse, and that is, Whether an Ambassador may go beyond the limits of his Instructions, if any thing fall out to the advantage of his Prince, whereof he was ignorant when he the Prince did give him his Instructions. The cause of the doubt is, that he who goes beyond the limits of his commission,

Commission, though he do it not either out of malice or pride, seems to contemn his Master, or esteem too much of himself or his own prudence, which is most odious. And then if the business doth not succeed prosperously, he must incur the blame of disobedience and indeprecable punishment. But if it succeed, then is it esteemed the benefit of Fortune. In the administration therefore of publick Affairs, it was a crime to do contrary to what was commanded, though done with Vertue, Valour, and Success. Which *Man-*

lius Torquatus did teach by a sad
 † *Lib. 8.* Example †, but profitable to
 Youth in following Ages. I shall

only add another of *Crassus Mutianus*, who in the Siege of a certain Town, standing in need of a strong Beam to his battering Ram, did write to an Architect to send him the bigger of two Masts which he had seen by him; who considering the thing, did send the lesser, as more fit to make that instrument of War, contrary to what was commanded him. Incontinently *Crassus* sends for the man, and having heard his Reasons, commanded him to be whipped to death: a severe command will some say, for the Artist thought he had done the best, by the Precepts of Art. I would grant that, if *Crassus* had asked Counsel and not Obedience. The Office of him who commands is corrupted and dissolved,

says

says *Agellius*, if any answer to what he is commanded with unrequired Counsel, and not with due obedience. From which it may be concluded that nothing ought to be done or said but what was commanded by the Prince. But I think that this Question should be decided thus : Either he has time to advertise his Prince of any new emergent business, and may expect other Instructions ; or the thing it self can upon no account be deferred. In the former cases I doubt not but the Prince† should be informed thereof. † *Ostavius*
 of. But if the business admit not *Magius.*
 of that delay, it's better to adhere to his instructions. It can hardly be expressed how much disobedience displeaseth Princes. But if the matter be of great consequence; the hurt which may proceed from thence must be considered diligently, and care must be had that he be not deceived in his opinion, and then that course must be taken which tends to the manifest profit and honour of his Prince, the causes whereof must be presently signified to him by Letters. But if the profit be dubious, he must not do any thing easily beyond his Commission; lest he endanger his fame and reputation, if any thing fall out unfortunately. For Princes use to observe, not the Actions, but the Events thereof.

The end of the second Part.

OF

OF
MARTIAL PROWESS
 AND
LEARNING.

PART III.

The **INTRODUCTION.**

MAny Men are perswaded that the ancient Writers have treated so gravely and accurately of every thing belonging to human life, that there is no subject almost left to after-ages, (though perhaps no less learned) wherein to exercise their Wit, Parts, and Learning; concluding it most necessary to admire, believe, and rest in Antiquity. Yet, as the honour of doing valiantly is no robbery of the *Hero's* of ancient times, but their fortitude rather set as an example to be imitated by brave Martial Spirits; so the Learning of the Ancients should

not

not be neglected, but should move Men qualified with literature, not only to follow their footsteps, but animate us, if possible, to exceed them for the benefit of our Age and Country. Now, though I (for my part) come far short of the Ancients in either; yet I hope I shall be pardoned if I, a little, in this third and last part of my discourse, endeavour what I think necessary for publick good.

Seeing therefore it's often inquired, whether *Mars* or *Minerva* is the more profitable to Mankind, and whether Souldiers or Gown-men ought to have the precedency: We shall in short declare what is probably and usually alledged on both sides, for the satisfaction of those to whom the naked truth is more acceptable than common opinion; whereas I hope I may, in some measure, answer the expectation of the curious, as also confirm my self in the love of virtue.

When this visible World could not subsist without order, and human pravity grew daily to be the most Potent, God, after the Flood, ordained politick Government and Principalities, to contain the rebellious in their duty, and to punish publick Enemies endeavouring the destruction of Mankind; and then through process of time Families were collected in one Society, Laws were established, and Judges and Governours were appointed.

And

And because God and Nature did endue every man with a gift to exercise some peculiar Art, Faculty, or Science; and that there is no man who doth not stand in need of the

help of another, divers Degrees and Orders of Societies were afterwards appointed, which being sociably joyn'd amongst themselves, at length made a City or Commonwealth, such as

are mentioned by *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xenophon*, and *Polybius*. Yet it is most certain, that Military Virtue and Learning did exceed all other Faculties, invented either to sustain or adorn Civil Life.

Arist. Polis.
cap. 2. August. lib. 15.
de civit. Dei.

CHAP. I.

whether Mars or Minerva are to be preferred.

BUt although a Commonwealth stand in need of both alike, and both ought equally to be honoured; yet it has come to pass, through Pride and Ambition, (which two Vices sprung chiefly from the depravation of Humane Nature) that Military men have not so much deserved, as usurped the first place, having despised and contemned those,

those, who applying themselves to Learning with no less pains and danger, have done excellent service to their Country. On the contrary, Learned men complain, that they are defrauded of their due honour, and endeavour to recover the same : It is necessary therefore to search out the Reasons of this Controversie.

We come now to the Arguments of both Parties : The first for the Military Prerogative is thought to be Antiquity ; for *Nimrod*, the Son of *Chus*, by his Martial Prowess subdued Nations, and brought in the use of Arms.

An other very strong Argument is, that Empires are commanded by Arms, as with a Bridle, and so transmitted to Posterity, of which we are furnished with almost innumerable examples out of Histories, as well Sacred as Profane. But the most remarkable is, the counsel of *Pansa* and *Hircius*, which Experience proved. Those men did perswade *Julius Caesar* to govern by Arms: the Empire of *Rome* obtain'd by his Martial Virtue ; when he by doing the contrary, was the cause of his own destruction.

Thirdly, they say, by Arms our Country is defended ; and when our Enemies are overcome, and all danger removed, a general safety is procured. Examples are in readiness to any read in History. On the contrary,

trary, Countries wanting Military defence, are exposed to the Rapine of Enemies. Poor *Hungaria* gives an example of this; and many think that the boldness of the *Turk* had not succeeded so far, if *Ladislaus* the Successor of *Mathias Corvinus* in that Kingdom, had observed more diligently Military Discipline.

Fourthly, It makes much for Souldiers, that the World admires Power, War-like Glory, and Triumphs; which because notorious, needs no probation.

Fifthly, The Art Military consists in the active part, when the knowledge of Learning is only busied with meer Contemplation; therefore Martial Prowess is the more honourable.

Sixthly and lastly, Brave War-like actions make men immortal, and therefore the more to be esteemed.

I answer to what was spoken in the first place of Antiquity, that it is very much controverted, whether Learning had its Birth after the expedition of *Nimrod*, who began to Reign in *Babylon*, or invented by the *Aethiopians*, as *Diodorus Siculus* asserts in his fourth Book, or taught first by

* Lib. 8. & 10. *Moses*, according to * *Eusebins*.

For *Josephus* in his first Book of Antiquity says, that Letters were in use before the Flood; and that the Sons of *Seth*,
the

the Son of *Adam*, did write in two Pillars, one of Stone, and the other of Brick, the nature of the Heavens, and the motion of the Stars. *Epigenes* also makes mention, that there were Observations of the Stars many years before the Flood; from which it appears, that the use of Letters has been from the beginning, which are the words of *Pliny* in the seventh Book of his *Natural History*. It might therefore be, that *Moses* or *Abram*, to whom *Philo* attributes the invention of Letters, did restore those again which perished in the Flood, which were transferred from the *Syrians* to the *Phoenicians*, and from them to the *Gracians*, by *Cadmus*; and then enriched and further propagated by *Palamedes* in the time of the *Trojan War*. But to conclude, it's agreed upon, that time only doth not introduce true Pre-eminence, that Excellency which is requisite being wanting.

The second Argument is refuted thus, Arms only are not sufficient, nor are great exploits done by them only. Moreover in time of War when Martial prowess doth act, barbarity reigns, Countries are laid waste, Justice neglected, and horrid Cruelties committed. *Italy* of old, the Mistress of the Universe, did give a most clear testimony of this, when it was delacerated so miserably by those Northern People the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, and *Lombards*. On the contrary, in time of Peace

Learning flourisheth, and Justice is administered. Moreover Affairs happen often, which require learning and prudence more than armed force. Hence is that of *Cicero* in his first Book *de Officiis*, *Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguae*, that is, Let Arms give place to the Gown, and let the Laureat Souldier give place to the eloquent Orator. Neither when the Sword rages can Princes want the industry of learned men, for in declaring, managing, and ending the War, there is great need of such. Wherefore the ancient *Grecians* did so join both Arts together, that thereby they not only overcame the *Persians*, but also subdued other Warlike Nations. The *Romans* famous for their Martial Valour were also no less learned: for (according to the Comick Poet) its nothing to be brave abroad, unless men be wise at home. And as reason and judgment are more excellent than the strength of the body, or boldness in fight: So a Scholar is more to be honoured than a Souldier. *John Galeas* Duke of *Millan*, being an Enemy of the *Florentines*, used to say, That he received more hurt by the Letters of *Collutius Pictorius*, than by a thousand armed Souldiers. To confirm which, we shall bring in that saying of the most wise *Cato* in his Oration against *Catoline*; *Non solis armis Respublica Romana crevit, sed alia fuere qua illos magnos fecere, domi industria, foris iustitiam*
perimus

perium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque libidini obnoxius. The Roman Commonwealth did not increase by Arms only, but there were other things which made it great; industry at home, a just command abroad, freedom in Consultations, obnoxious to neither Crimes nor unlawful desires. *Florus* says, *That Empires were obtained by strength, but preserved by equity and justice.* Wise Antiquity made use of the Fiction of *Pallas*, whom they made the *Præses* of War and Learning.

Thirdly, It was argued for Military Virtue, that our Country was defended by Arms. We grant this partly, but yet not by Arms only, as appears from what is already spoken. For if defence (according to the ancient Military Law) is better than offence, it certainly consists more in counsel and prudence, than in fighting. It has been the destruction of many, and of their Country also, to trust to the hazard of a Battel. Again, Arms are more easily taken up, than laid down; therefore its most uncertain to put confidence in Arms only.

Fourthly, it was argued for martial prowess, that War-like Glory is in greater admiration than Learning. To which I answer, that whereas Kings and Princes do honour the one more than the other, that is occasioned through Ambition, or greedy desire of command: neither can Glory purchased by Arms be of

long continuance without Prudence and Learning; for it's the opinion of the judicious, that military discipline, (from whence War-like Glory doth flow as from its Fountain) did take its original from *Homer*. That learned man *Alianus* did teach the Emperour *Adrian* an excellent military order of drawing up of Soldiers, in equal proportions and just distances. The *Macedonian Phalanx* (which *Alexander the great* made use of with so much success and glory) is thought to have proceeded from one verse of *Homer*. *Iohannes Bodinus* in *method. hist.* makes mention, that *Selimus* causing *Cæsars* Commentaries to be translated into his own natural Language, was so expert in his manner of warfare, that in a short time he joined a great part of *Africk* and *Asia the less* to the Empire of his Predecessors.

Valerius Maximus makes mention *Lib. 6.* that *Lucius Paulus* had not routed the *Persians*, if *Gallus Sulpitius* the Philosopher, had not remov'd that fear in the *Roman* Camp, proceeding from a sudden Eclipse of the Moon, by discoursing elegantly of the nature of the Heavens, and the cause of that change.

The answer to the fifth Argument is easie. For we speak not of that Learning which consists merely in the Idea's of the mind, or in fantastick *Aristotelian* notions, but of such as joyns knowledge and practice together, which will

will not always be kept in obscurity, but will shine at length, to the good of the Republick, *Agessilaus* King of the *Lacedemonians* said (when it was debated whether Justice or Fortitude had the precedency) that there was no need of Fortitude, if all men would adhere to Justice. *Baldus* affirm'd, that Common wealth stood more in need of Gown-men, than Souldiers, because times of peace are of longer continuance than those of War.

The true glory of Ancient Princes chiefly consisted in the honour, they paid to Learning and learned men, and in that they used their Council and Assistance in governing their Kingdoms. For as in Diseases of the Body one skilful Physitian is better than a thousand Mountebanks; so when the whole Commonwealth is affected, one learned Gown-man is worth a numerous Army. *Lampridius* says, that the good Emperor *Aurelius*, and the brave *Severus*, did always converse familiarly with prudent and learned men, and in civil Affairs did use the Council of learned men only; but in any military business (besides old Officers) they consulted also the learned. Many Kings at the point of Death have recommended their Children and Successors to learned mens tuition, calling them not only their Friends and Fathers, but also their best Treasure. On the contrary vitious Princes have vilipended learned Men, and esteemed it more laudable to ex-

toll those, who were most agreeable to their pernicious inclinations, whose service they could use in the perpetration of their crimes, and oppression of their Subjects. -

We are to answer now to the objection of the immortality of war-like Prowess; thus we must be forc'd to confess, if we behold the perpetual memory of both, that it is rather contain'd in Learning than in martial Prowess. To the former we are indebted for the remembrance of what is either well or ill done, and so without it the Art of Governing would be imperfect, and next to Oblivion. Who would have known the *Cæsars*, (says *Pliny the second*, in his *Epistle to Cornelius Priscus*) if *Suetonius* had not liv'd? Who would have known *Scipio* and *Pompey*, so famous for their great triumphs, if Learned Men had not written in their praise? And seeing the acts of fortitude in one Individual, are only during the life of one Man, whatever is written for the benefit of the Republick is continual, according to *Vigetius*, in his second Book *de re militari*.

And, though amongst the *Scythians*, and other fierce and barbarous Nations, Arms had the precedency; and that by an ancient *Æthiopian* Statute those were made, Kings who exceeded others in the stature of Body; yet, on the contrary, amongst the *Gracians*, *Ægyptians*, *Indians*, and *Persians* (according
to

to *Bonfinus*) Wisdom and Learning were so much prefer'd, that they did chuse Kings from the Altars of their Gods, and Schools of Philosophers. For Learning infuseth into Men the sense of a Divinity, informs their Manners, and conserves the Common-wealth. The *Lacedemonians* (by the Law of *Lycurgus*) did not give honours to the rich and potent, but to those endued with Prudence and Virtue. And in the *Indian Kingdoms* and Countries, found out by the *Portugueses*, Learning is in great esteem; for none there, without it, can obtain any Office, much less the *Principality. *Homer* the Father of Poets makes *Pallas* always a Friend to *Achilles* and *Ulysses*, which he did because they were Men of reason, and good Counsel. And in his 2. lib. *Iliadum* *Agamemnon* desires in his Army not ten *Ajaces*, but *Nestores*. And the Wisdom of *Aeneas* is said to have been of more use in the defence of *Troy*, than the valour and strength of *Hector*. The Common-wealth of *Venice* seems to be of longer continuance than that of *Rome*, not so much for her martial Valour, as politick Government.

SECT. I.

Shewing the People incline either to Mars or Mercury, as their Prince is inclined.

Thus considering what is already spoken, it will not be difficult to find out what Profession is the better. But now Learned Men, to the shame of a Nation, do vail to Souldiers, give them a tacit renunciation of their right, and acquiesce in the vulgar Opinion, which is, for the most part, ever false.

I would allow indeed, that our Nobility and Gentry following the Wars for the safety of their King and Country, should not be defrauded of their due honour, so as Gown-men on the other side be not wrong'd, and vilipended; and I do think that neither Party should permit the other to give their judgment in their own proper cause, which I shall in this place forbear also to do, and only say, *That Men are stir'd up to those Professions and Arts which are in greatest esteem for the time; according to Plato in his 4th. Book de Republica. Nero declaimed in the first year of his Reign, according to the Example of Pompey the Great, and Augustus Caesar, and immediately there was such abundance of Orators, and the Study of Eloquence so flourish'd, that many from*
low

low fortunes were made Senators, * and obtain'd great honours. In the Reign of Charles the fifth all his Courtiers did learn the *French* Tongue, because the Emperour himself delighted in it. So Aristotle truly said, that * the inclinations of Princes were examples to his Subjects: because the Life of a Prince is a perpetual Law or Decree concerning Manners, as *Pliny* doth elegantly shew *Trajan* and *Claudian*, wittily in his admonition to *Honorius*.

*Componitur Orbis,
Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus,
Humanos edicta valent, ut visa regentum,
Mobile mutatur semper cum Principe vulgus.*

Men follow still the footsteps of their King,
Nor are Laws able humane minds to bring
Under command, so much as his life, why?
The Vulgar with the Prince doth change alway.

Count *Palavicin* is introduced in *Castilion's* Courtier, and alledging some subtile reasons, doth conclude that Arms had the precedency, yet he courteously avoids the opinion of *Petrus Bembus* his Colloquutor. For this man doth quote *Alexander* the Great, who did not envy *Achilles* for the glory of his martial fortitude

titute, but that he had *Homer* for a publisher of his praises. The Author also in his true Courtier (wherein he represents the Idea of a Prince) requires Letters to go hand in hand as inseperable Companions. The Emperour *Frederick* the third used to say; *that he could in one hour make many Souldiers, but that in his whole life he could never make a Polititian. Cesar, says Heliodor, can give Riches and Honours, but he cannot make an Orator.*

S E C T. II.

Learning has by many been slighted, and by as many esteemed.

But Letters have had powerful Adversaries, and what is good pleaseth but few. The Emperour *Licinus* call'd them a publick plague. *Valerianus* was also a great Enemy to learning. And it is said that *Nero's* Mother diverted him from the study of Philosophy. *Luis* the eleventh King of *France* would not have his Son *Charles* the eighth instructed in Letters and liberal Sciences. And the Father of *Eberhart*, Count of *Wittenberg*, did upon his Death-bed bind his Councillors by an Oath, that they should not permit his Son to learn the Latine Tongue.

How much more is the Judgment of *Alexander*

under the great, (though most desirous of military glory) to be esteemed. For writing to his Master *Aristotle*, he told him that it was his desire rather to excel in Knowledge, than in Arms. That Myrrour of Princes, *Alphonſus* King of *Arragon*, did prudently affirm, that he would rather lose his Kingdom, than be ignorant of that Learning with which he was indu'd. The Emperour *Leo*, and his Son *Constantine*, desired nothing more than to advance Learning: And their Successor to their Empire and Vertue, did give admirable respect to Learned men, saying, that he had rather be famous by his Learning, than by his Empire, as *Baptista Egnatius* relates in the Lives of the *Cæsars*. *Jovius* in his Elogies of Martial Hero's, observes the saying of *Matthias* King of *Hungaria*, that a King could not be famous in War, unless fortified with Learning; he knew the manner of War-fare of every Age, and the very Stratagems of the Ancients drawn out of Histories, seeing those Experiments, which would be of great use in War, cannot be understood but by long Experience, which could easily be comprehended by reading the examples of Antiquity: Therefore many Princes in the managing of difficult Affairs, have too late bewail'd that they did not in their Youth apply themselves to Learning: Insomuch that some in more mature years have not been asham'd to learn the Latin Tongue,

Tongue, as did that Noble Elector of Saxony: For Learning is the Nerves and Arteries of good Government, and the Ornament of Civil Life. For the most part, it's despair or constraint makes a Souldier, which is thought to be the last refuge of hope-despairing men. We see many accustomed to dishonest actions go to the Wars, but few return with Honour or Riches. Finally, such is for the most part the condition of Affairs, that more is lost than acquired in War, wherein wholesome counsel seldom finds acceptance; nor is it tolerable to erre twice, and wherein (according to *Julius Caesar*) Fortune shews her unconstancy most: But she has not so much power over Learned men, for where ever they go, they carry all along with them, and even in Shipwreck they lose not any thing, when Souldiers are in a perpetual fear of losing all.

SECT. III.

*Shewing some Noble Souls to be tam
Marte, quam Mercuria*

But some men do argue, that there are many Souldiers, who with great honour have joyn'd Martial Prowess and Learning together; therefore that Learned men only are to be Post-pon'd.

To

To which it's answered, that many have endeavour'd, but few obtain'd that honour. For *Nature* (according to *Plato*) produces men regularly qualified for one Art or Science only, and making hast to two so different, she perfects neither well: Amongst the Ancient *Grecians*, *Pericles*, *Xenophon*, and *Thucidides*; amongst the *Romans*, *Julius Caesar*, *Lucullus*, and *Cato*, were eminent in both. And *Vellius Paterculus* in his second Volume of the *Roman Story*, writes after this manner of *Drusus Claudius*, who died in *Germany*, That it was uncertain whether his Genius was more fit for Martial, than Civil Affairs. But commonly, without perpetual exercise, to which the short life of Man can hardly be sufficient, a perfect Soldier, *i. e.* a great Captain, and an excellent Gown-man, able to govern the Helm of Affairs (for we speak as well of Knowledge as of Experience) can hardly be found in one Individual. If any attain to this Heroick Excellency, as *Antonius Duprato*, Great Chancellor to *Francis* the first King of *France*, by whose Valour the *Suetzers* were overthrown in a great Battel, or *Mathæus* Cardinal of *Sedun*, who a little before o'recame the Army of *Lewis* the Eleventh in *Italy*; or if any for the future shall be famous for both those noble and glorious qualities, and thereby shall be useful to their Country, in equity they ought to be ranked above

above the degree of either ordinary Captains, or Gown-men. *Persus* the Son of *Jupiter* having ended the War in *Mauritania* with happy success, and obtain'd the Kingdom of the *Argives*, in the end erected a publick School in *Helecon*, and was himself famous for his Learning; for which causes the Poets feign that he was plac'd amongst the Stars.

SECT. IV.

The Decision of the Controversie.

Having refuted therefore that Objection, it seems to give the precedency to Learning, because Souldiers are but the Executioners of Learned Gown-men; and therefore the Law says, that Souldiers ought to be Defenders, not Lords and Masters.

Now though it is not our intention to determine positively in so difficult a matter, yet we will conclude by a threefold distinction, for thereby are contrarieties oft-times accorded. If I found a Guide, says *Socrates*, who knew how to distinguish aright, I would follow his footsteps, as those of some Deity.

The first distinction is, That men must regard the Custom of the place, and accordingly either Souldiers or Learned men are to be preferred:

ferred : For Custom and Use is of no contemptible Authority, especially if it be continued with publick consent.

The other distinction is drawn from the time ; for sometimes Learned men, sometimes Souldiers are in the greater esteem. That Vulgar saying doth agree to this, *Distigue tempora, & quadrabit Scriptura.*

Thirdly, Acts are diligently to be considered ; for a Gown-man in any act agreeing to his Calling, is without doubt to be preferred ; as on the contrary, a Souldier in Military actions has the precedency. *Isocrates* writing to the Lords of *Mytilene*, advises them to give the next honour to themselves to Learned men.

But this notwithstanding, it cannot be deny'd, but that Military Dignity is of a large extent ; for it comprehends Knights, Barons, Earls, Marquesses, Dukes, and the very Emperour or King himself, whereby a certain rule for this Pre-eminency can the less be given, for it varies daily, according to age, office, or employment, favour, dignity, time, place, act, custom, will, pleasure and inclination, which nevertheless ought not to be prejudicial to Gown-men, and that for the publick good, in whose favour Degrees and Orders were introduc'd. In this case then men must have recourse to Custom, and the before-named distinctions.

C H A P. II.

Admonition to such as incline either to Learning, or Arms.

SEeing therefore due honour is given to virtue, which we will distinguish into military and civil, ingenious youth is to be admonished, that the fewer attain to this double dignity, the more earnestly they may endeavour the same, and being of noble Parents they may make themselves famous by following their foot-steps in virtue; and in what Families military glory has been resplendent, they may imitate their Ancestors, not neglecting Literature, whereby Men are rendred more capable of performing great Enterprizes. Let those who apply themselves to Learning through their innate inclination, know that a large Field of Glory is Patent to them, unless leaving their study they be drawn to vice, or to do any thing against their Vocation. For there cannot be an equal condition of all Men in this Life, nor can this civil Society consist without distinction of Persons and Qualities, that some may command, others obey. And seeing the Office of Magistracy is divided into Laws divine and humane, consisting morally in the defence of the innocent, and punishment of the

the

the wicked, the Common-wealth cannot well want either order.

S E C T. I.

what true Nobility is, by way of Digression.

But it will not (I hope) be altogether impertinent in this place to make a short Digression concerning true Nobility, which I shall touch in few words.

First therefore, where the excellency of Virtue is absent, the reward thereof, *i. e.* the honour of Nobility, is due to no Man, and so the cause ceasing, the effect also ceases.

Secondly, the inveterate Custome of making Men of good Birth, and void of Virtue noble, seems unreasonable; therefore it's either absolutely to be cancell'd, or reduc'd to the square of Equity.

Thirdly, Riches ought not to come into consideration, for they are things separated from Nobility; and in respect thereof Merchants or Mechanicks abounding in Riches, yea base Fellows incapable of Dignities may be called Noble, because Riches are fluent and mutable, and Virtue immovable and permanent. There was no entry to the Temple of Honour at *Rome* but through that of Virtue, thereby signifying that there was no true Honour without Virtue.

H

Fourthly,

Fourthly, if Men consider Power of it self, it cannot make true Nobility, yet the common error has taken such deep root, that it can hardly be eradicated. But every Man is more to be esteemed for what he has acquired by his own virtue, than of what is left him by his Ancestors.

† Ovid. 13. *Mora.*

*Nam genus & proavos & quæ non † facimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.*

Our birth, and what doth not from us proceed,
Can with small reason be call'd ours indeed.

The Vulgar doth abuse the name of true Nobility, and judges according to the objects; when notwithstanding true Nobility consists not in what is only external, as Antiquity, Riches, great Possessions, and Dignities, but requires an interiour perfection. Yet we see unworthy men honoured, and he is for the most part of less esteem who is endued with wisdom and learning, if poor, than a rich person with an empty head. I would not what is said to be otherways understood, than that the presumption of high birth should so long have place, as men nobly born shew themselves worthy of the honour they by their birth assume, and then its just to use them with all honour and respect.

But

But (according to *Matheus de afflictis*) the first species of Nobility flows from divine wisdom; The second from true Vertue; The third from dignity and secular Power; The fourth from his Lands and Possessions which he holds immediately of his Prince; The fifth from Military Orders or Degrees. I speak of such who have Commissions from the King or Common-wealth; for to be a private Souldier, is rather a slavery than an honour. The sixth is from the Antiquity of Noble Progenitors, which if join'd with vertue (according to *Baldus*) makes true Nobility, who calls it generosity adorned with magnanimity. The seventh species proceeds from their Office or Calling. I shall say no more, but refer the curious to that famous Treatise of *Andreas Tiracquillus* concerning this subject.

S E C T. II.

*Of the tragical fates of many brave men,
both Statesmen and Martial.*

NOW (as we hinted before) Civil Government consists in Gown-men and Souldiers; for as humane health consists in the harmony of the body and soul, and as the heart and brain are refresh'd with sweet Oudours and Oyntments, and as humane actions are better performed by the right disposition of

the mind; so in the prudent conjunction of those two noble Qualifications doth the healthful temperature of the Politick Body consist. *Justice* and *Fortitude* are famous Vertues, and *Augustus Caesar* is much commended by *Suetonius* for both. If Learning for some contrary Custom is not so much esteemed as Martial Prowess, yet is it necessary in a well-governed Common-wealth, that they walk hand in hand. I am not able to extort the Sword from the Souldier, or willing to extol the Learned to the others prejudice: for the one is join'd with dangers, the other with pains and watchings. Moreover for many and just causes I am to acquiesce in the opinion of others, left in the decision of so difficult a Question, I incur the hatred and disdain of the more learned and judicious.

First therefore, I observe, that both were ordained by God, and both necessary to the Common-wealth. *The greatest defence of the Republick* (says the Lawyer) *proceeds from Martial Prowess and Justice. Both have a lawful Function, because our Saviour at his coming did not abrogate Civil Politie, as Julian the Apostate and his impious Parasites blasphemously cryed out. Christ approves of warfare in the Centurion: Nature teaches this in irrational Creatures. The Bees bred only to the use of mankind, have their King, their Camps, their Officers, they march out to Battel, draw together,*

gether, fight abroad, toil and labour at home; they reward industry, and punish idleness. So War is approved by the Law of Nations, provided it be just, and undertaken by the command of the Prince or Common-wealth. So learned men do exercise a no less lawful and beautiful Function, for without such the world would be a Chaos of confusion.

Secondly, Souldiers ought to be contented with their pay, and ought not to wrong or oppress any. So a Minister of State should be contented with his Salary, and not to extend his hands to iniquity.

Thirdly, An excellent Souldier and Scholar are in great esteem, both at home and abroad, and obtain perpetual honour. *Pyrrhus* desired to see *Scipio* the *African*, when he lived in his eclipsed glory at *Linternum*. And certain Nobles came from the remotest parts of *Spain*, not to see *Rome* the most glorious City of the Universe, but *Livius* famous for his Eloquence. And such is the sweetness of Learning, that it moves the affections of the weaker Sex. *Olympia Fulvia* of *Ferrara*, a most ingenious Woman, in those latter times lived and dyed in *Germany*, whose Orations and learned Works are yet extant. After the same manner, many *Virago's* indued with masculine courage, have affected and obtained the honour of warlike fortitude. The *Roman* Virgin *Clelia*, being one of the Pledges given to King *Por-*

Jenna, in the night-time escaped her Guards, took Horse, and by her speedy passing the River, not only free'd her City of a dangerous siege, but of all fear.

Thirdly we read that many War-like *Hero's*, and Eminent *Gown-men*, who at home and abroad have deserved well of their Country, yave fallen from the height of Honour into great Calamities. Therefore we may exelaim with *Lucan*, in his First Book of the Civil War 'twixt *Cesar* and *Pompey*.

*Invida fatorum series summisque negatum,
Stare diu, nimique graves sub pondere lapsus.*

*Fates envious course continuance doth deny,
To mighty Men, who greatest falls do try.*

What is more famous than the exile of *Scipio* * and *Themistocles*? *Franciscus Buffonius* General of the Venetian Army, a Man Valiant and active against *Philip Duke of Millain*, after his taking of *Verona* and *Brixia*, was accus'd of perfidious delay, brought to *Venice* in the course of his Actions, and there * beheaded. *Comradine*, the Nephew of the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*, for the loss of a Battel at the instigation of the Pope, and the Arch-Duke

* *Valer. Max.*
lib. 5. cap. 3.

* *Petrus Just.*
l. 7. hist. Veneta.

Duke of *Austria*, had his Head struck off in the Market-place of the City of *Naples*. *Socrates* the wisest of *Greece*, by the testimony of the Oracle, dyed a * violent death. *Cicero* the Fountain of * *Val. Max.* *Roman Eloquence*, was first banish'd * and then beheaded. *lib. 7. cap. 2.* *William Hugonet*, Chancellour * *Plut. in vita* to *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, *Cicero.* after the death of his Prince at *Nancy*, was beheaded by the People of *Gaunt*. That famous Lawyer *Alpiannus* was banished by *Heliogabelus*. *Bellisarius* and *Narses*, two famous and glorious Captains, after they had obtain'd great and honourable Victories, were thrust from their commands, and reduc'd to misery by the Emperour *Iustinian*. *Gonsalvo*, having obtain'd the name of great Captain by the consent of all Christendom, after he had confirmed the Kingdom of *Naples* to his Master, † by his singular Vertue and Constancy, was † *Jovius in his life.* required to give up his Accounts, and thereby brought in disgrace. I shall forbear to produce examples of latter Favourites, as also of those who have suffered for the glory of God and good of their Country, (because I do not intend here a Martyrology.) If we would but look into the Courts of Princes even of latter times, what a Multitude of evils and misfortunes would offer themselves? and

how many examples of the Courts inconstancy could we instance.

Subsect. 1. *Shewing the causes of their so sad fate.*

I judge the causes thereof to be, either those in great favour with Kings and Princes do put too much confidence therein, or oppress'd with envy (which is the inseparable Concomitant of Vertue and Felicity) they fall into disgrace; or Fortune (according to her custom) at length deserts Men loaded with riches and honours; or their Spirits fail them being oppress'd with the weight of affairs. Injustice and desire of private gain have also been the ruine of many. Hence you may see Men blinded with avarice and ambition run beyond the limits of their duty, and many (according to *Polybius*) more fit to innovate than manage affairs. To which may be added the change of the Prince his inclination, which appears after Favorites have acquired great riches and dignities. For (according to *Martial*,)

Immodicis brevis est aetas & rara senectus.

Next the divulging of the Prince's secrets: And finally the anger and suspicion of Princes: for such give themselves up to their own humours,

humours, and whilst they endeavour to confirm their authority, they erre sometimes in the excess of punishing.

These are the ordinary causes of the ruine of many brave Men. There are also other Theological reasons. First, the godly Man is not innocent before God, it's needful for all Men to be subject to afflictions, that therein their divine vertues may be exercised. *Before I was afflicted I went astray*, says the Psalmist, *and trouble gives understanding*, says *Esaias*. Secondly, that it may appear, that all things are not ruled by human Counsels, because it's written, *I will destroy the wisdom of the wise*.

The more therefore with the Apostle to *Timothy* is the safety of Princes to be recommended to God, that they may do what is good and just in his eyes, lest afterwards Vices turn into Manners, where at length (according to *Seneca*) there is no redress. Let their Ministers, who are intrusted with Offices either military or civil, endeavour to follow the Dictates of Virtue, hoping felicity in their actions from God to whom they must give an account. Whereby it will come to pass that they shall have comfort in whatsoever calamity, and shall not suffer any thing, but what will be conducing to the good of their Souls. But lest we involve our selves in this Labyrinth beyond our intention, let us refer

refer the whole matter to the secret, yet just judgment of God.

CHAP. III.

Shewing that Arms and Learning go hand in hand together.

IT follows therefore that Letters and Arms should not only accord, but be inseparably conjoyn'd, besides the Reasons above-mentioned, because Martial Prowess doth furnish matter to Learning. Hence was *Hercules* call'd *Musagetes*, and was ador'd in a Temple dedicated to himself, and the *Muses*; as on the contrary Learned men do Eternize the Memory of virtuous actions, that they may be also Immortal to Posterity. *Suetonius Tranquillus* writ a Book of such as were famous in the *Roman Commonwealth*, either for their war-like actions, or civil policy. Saint *Jerom* following his Example, writ a Book of Holy Men, famous in the Church of God. And in latter times, *Paulus Jovius* did honour, with splendid Elogies, men famous either for their Martial Prowess, or their refined and learned Wits.

The dangerous Contentions for Honour ought to be shunn'd, and the same given to Virtue,

Virtue, whose proper reward it is, and that without any envy, whereby whole Commonwealths have perished, and of which History furnisheth us with many famous Examples. Who contend for Honour in a Commonwealth (says *Plato*) are like Mariners striving in a Tempest who should be Pilot, which cannot be without the evident danger of all. It's the part therefore of wise men to hate Emulations, and the greedy desire of Vain-glory, and to follow Honour, but not ambitiously to covet the same. Ambition was prohibited of old at † *Rome*, by the severest Laws. If all the induements of Body and Mind, and all External Dignities were considered, we would find that they were not sufficient to the tranquility of Humane Life; we should augment therefore the care of Piety, and lessen the solicitude of perishing things, and especially that specious trouble which we see most strictly joyn'd with acquired Power. It is written, *Do all to the Glory of God*; this is the end which all Christians should propose to themselves; the rest do not only perish with us, but in the midst of our course they withdraw themselves, and vanish. The Government of men is obnoxious to divers Changes, therefore it stands in need of men fitted for all times, as divers Remedies are to be used according to the nature of mens Diseases;

Some-

Sometimes Arms, sometimes Learning is required, and neither can subsist without the other. It is absolutely necessary, that Justice be attended with Arms; and it is certain, that God is the Fountain of Justice, and that the highest and lowest Vocations are governed by him: Therefore we should pray for Concord, Humility, and Mutual Love.

The Conclusion.

NOW at the close, Ingenuous Youth should be admonished, that as the Civil Perfection of Man consists in Military and Doctoral Dignities; and as in this Politique Government divers Offices are required, they would study those two Noble Arts without pride, or mutual contempt. And let those who are to be Souldiers consider, that the Defenders of their Country shall have Glory on Earth, and Felicity in Heaven. But where there is a necessity of War, let it be undertaken, that nothing seem to be required but Peace; whereby (according to
 † *Hist. Ro-* † *Velleius*) the Laws and Justice
man. lib. 2. flourish: For a certain Honourable
 Peace is far better than an uncertain event of War: *All the events of War are uncertain,* says Cicero. Moreover, although what we know is far less than what we are ignorant of, for (according to the Apostle) in this life we
 know

know but in part: Young men ought to learn what is necessary to the just Government of the Commonwealth, whereunto Earthly Riches and Honours should not invite them so much, as that *Celestial Remuneration*, of which the Followers of true Vertue are certain. Finally, let them contain themselves within the limits of their Vocation, neither let them (allured with the desire of Superiority, which is always joyn'd with present danger) attempt any thing beyond their ability.

O happy *England*! if young Men of noble Birth and opulent fortunes, would not lose their youthful years in riot, voluptuous pleasures, and all sorts of sensuality; but would instruct and adorn their minds with vertuous Sciences. By so doing they should not only learn to live well themselves, but also to rule others aright; they should the better acquire political knowledge, and instructed with vertuous Precepts of Philosophy should contain themselves within the limits of their duty, be more fit for the Government of the Commonwealth either in Peace or War, and extend and augment the splendour of their Birth by their laudable actions. Those are the Pillars and Supporters of solid Honour and Glory, by those Wings we mount to Heaven, and by those watchings and pains we acquire eternal Fame and Glory.

ERRATA.

PAge 10. line 30. for *Councillors*, read *Councillor*.
P. 13. l. 4. after *be*, r. *so*. p. 16. l. 18. for *Treasurers*
r. *in the Treasury*. l. 27. r. *that*, after *Liberality*. p. 77. l.
24. *dele to be*. p. 91. l. 21. for *Mercuris* r. *Mercurio*.

